

# SLOVAKIA

20

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## IN THIS ISSUE:

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF DR. JOSEPH TISO'S EXECUTION  
I WAS EDITOR OF PRESIDENT TISO'S NEWSPAPER  
EIGHT FATAL DAYS IN THE LIFE OF DR. JOSEPH TISO  
SLOVAKIA: TRIAL OF DR. JOSEPH TISO  
PLEA OF SLOVAK BISHOPS IN TISO'S BEHALF  
HERO AND PATRIOT OF SLOVAKIA

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This issue is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Joseph Tiso,  
President of Slovakia, 1939—1945, who was executed on the gal-  
lows by the Beneš-Gottwald communist-dominated regime,  
April 18, 1947.  
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THE TERRITORY OF ANCIENT SLOVAKIA  
MICKIEWICZ IN SLOVAK POETRY AND TRANSLATIONS  
ME MUST QUIT HELPING RED REGIMES  
INDEPENDENCE AND THE SLOVAK PAST  
FROM THE HISTORY OF SLOVAKIA  
KERNER'S 'CZECHOSLOVAKIA': HISTORY OR  
PROPAGANDA? (Cont'd.)  
WHO SAID IT?: 8, 18

Edited and compiled by  
PHILIP A. HROBAK

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The Slovak League of America is completing its FIFTIETH YEAR of faithful service "FOR GOD AND FOR NATION." — It was organized by the Rev. Stephen Furdek, May 26, 1907, at Cleveland, Ohio. — The Slovaks of America will celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Slovak League of America in the city of its foundation on May 26, 1957, before the opening of the 35th Congress of the League in Hotel Cleveland.

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SLOVAKIA is published periodically by the Slovak League of America, a cultural and civic federation of Americans of Slovak descent.

The chief purpose of SLOVAKIA is to promote a better understanding and appreciation of the Slovak nation and its long struggle for freedom and independence.

As Americans, members of the Slovak League of America firmly believe that the Slovak nation, just as all nations, has the inherent and God-given right to freedom and independence. They are dedicated to the cause of the American way of life, Slovak freedom and world peace and are determined to oppose the plague of Communism and all other totalitarian political systems.

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THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF

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## DR. JOSEPH TISO'S EXECUTION

JOSEPH KIRSCHBAUM

When Monsignor Dr. Joseph Tiso, President of the wartime Slovak Republic, was executed on the gallows on April 18, 1947, a victim of Communist and Czech vengeance, with the assistance of the adherents of Czecho-Communist collaboration most of whom are today living in exile, the Vatican broadcast, commenting on the reaction of the world press to Tiso's murder, said: "As a martyr of his love for his country, Dr. Tiso—who finally died in a very nice manner and as a priest internally very dignified, even though the manner of putting him to death was not befitting a priest—shall continue to live in the Catholic Slovak nation. Tendencious articles in the world press cannot change this fact."

Ten years later, it is not necessary to prove the truthfulness of that forecast. Shortly after the first President of the Slovak Republic was surrendered to his vengeful political opponents, there resounded in the American and world press so many manifestations of sympathy, admiration, and respect for Dr. Joseph Tiso, as had been tendered no Slovak in the thousand-year-old stirring history of the Slovak people. Verily, Dr. Tiso outgrew the Slovak framework and "continues to live today" not only in the hearts of his Slovak people, but in the hearts of millions of people who love truth and freedom. Slovakia and the Slovak nation still belongs to the world which did not succumb to Communism, to the world which, so to speak, is personified in Dr. Tiso and his fate. And many people even here on the American continent today see in Tiso the first great victim of Communism in the attack on the civilized world. With decent and intelligent people, the name of Tiso has

become the key to sympathy for and frequently also to the knowledge of Slovakia and our fight and destiny.

In this unusual turn of world public opinion, it is interesting to recall what Dr. Joseph Tiso said when he was asked by the so-called National Court in Bratislava why he had left Slovakia. Tiso at that time had replied: "I left Slovakia, because I wished to make the claims of the Slovak nation to its own way of life better known and more understandable to the Western powers." Of course, we know that the Western powers did not allow the living Tiso to do this, but we also have knowledge that they did not know, and still do not know, how to prevent the dead Tiso from fulfilling his mission.

The political murder, of which Dr. Tiso was the victim, did not bring about a change of heart only in alien circles, in circles frequently unfavorable to Slovakia and disinterested in the fate of Slovak nation. The crime committed against Dr. Tiso has stirred the conscience and awakened from national lethargy and indifference the Slovaks themselves, and especially the Slovaks beyond the borders of Slovakia who could not partake of the blessings of Slovak independence. If at the present time, outside the borders of Slovakia, the absolute majority of informed Slovaks is again in the fight for the sacred Slovak cause of freedom and independence, without any reservations whatsoever, this is due in a large measure to the death of Tiso, the hero and martyr of the Slovak nation. Today there is not a single country in the free world, where the Slovaks do not annually commemorate March 14, 1939, Slovak Independence Day, and the Slovak Day of Infamy, April 18, 1947—the day that the Beneš Czechs—Czech Socialists and Communists—shamefully put Dr. Tiso to death on the gallows. And in all these manifestations and celebrations, the personality, heroic fight and martyr's death of President Dr. Joseph Tiso stand out pre-eminently as a symbol, as a permanent light of Slovak history.

On this tenth anniversary of the Bratislava murder, it is appropriate, I believe, to point out the fundamental principles, which led Dr. Joseph Tiso in his work for his

people all the way up to the gallows and which characterized one historical period of the Slovak nation.

### **Tiso on Politics, Nation and State**

Like Andrew Hlinka, Dr. Joseph Tiso left to Slovak generations no compact work about his views on Slovak national life, on their mission and on the ideological foundations of Slovak politics. Always in the middle of obstinate struggles for the preservation of his people and Slovak national existence, in which he played the foremost role since 1918, Dr. Tiso had little time to write books, so he probably postponed the task for a time when he would depart from the political arena. But this was denied him by the executioner. Although ideologically he formulated the Slovak struggles for national life, and systematically in his countless manifestations and reflections placed the foundations of and consciously developed the fundamental principles of Slovak national ideology in a manner as no one else had in his century, or in previous centuries, a systematic explanation of Tiso's views still awaits the efforts of an expert.

The first step in this direction was made by Prof. Dr. Stephen Polakovič during the lifetime of Dr. Tiso, when he expertly and systematically collected in the work "Tiso's Doctrine"<sup>1</sup> the fundamental concept of Dr. Tiso relating to nation, nationalism, state, religion, and social questions. Even though the volume bears the seal of war conditions in Slovakia, it remains for us thusfar, along with the final speech of Dr. Tiso before the Bratislava Court, which was edited by Dr. Joseph Paučo<sup>2</sup>, a priceless source of knowledge of the fundamental ideas, aims and efforts of Slovak political life in the first half of this century. These two literary works are not only a source of knowing the past, but also a sum total of the fundamental directives for national and political work, about which Dr. Joseph Tiso, as if following the example of the Old Testament prophets, said:

"In profound humility we are paying tribute to our good God for the light of principles of the natural law, according to which we conducted ourselves in the fight for



independence, as well as in our work of construction. A return to the natural law can be the only foundation upon which a new world can be built, a world of contentment, order, and permanent peace"<sup>3</sup>.

Placing the foundation of Slovak politics on the Natural Law, Dr. Tiso also defined the aims and the ways of Slovak politics. "Our Slovak State was not born out of hatred, but out of our great love for our homeland," proclaimed Dr. Tiso on March 16, 1939. "Let us above all else be led by this thought: no hatred toward anyone, but love, an ardent love for our State, which inspires us to work and sacrifice . . ."

"A practical manifestation of the Natural Law is and shall remain our old goal: Slovakia for the Slovaks. Slovakia in its entirety and indivisible and without reservations in the legal, cultural, economical, and social departments, so that the independent Slovak nation might be the living carrier of all power and the consumer of all that the Slovak country contains and represents."

Regarding politics as a service to the nation, Dr. Tiso during his many years of political activity pleaded that political factors learn to depersonalize themselves. His understanding of politics was that "the interest of the nation is the highest directive of political work;" politics is not supposed to be "medium for several individuals, who with it would conceal their own materialistic interests. Politics serves the nation."

As Tiso saw it, even "the State should serve the nation, therefore, it has the right to existence only insofar as it does not threaten the interests of the nation." As far as State order is concerned, this must "be subordinated to the law of morality and law; the State must respect the rights of the individual, the family, society, and hold sacred the right of parents to educate their children, the right of free confession; it guarantees the right of private ownership and safeguards the peaceful coexistence of labor and capital, of employer and employee."

"Not force, but law which is founded on truth," was the thesis of Dr. Joseph Tiso, and he followed it in the full

sense of the word throughout his life, because he preached and believed that "no one will be mistaken who builds on the nation and always has only the interests of his nation in mind. We have taken over this thesis from stirring times for the future so that we might strengthen ourselves in the old convictions that individuals retire but the nation remains, and the person, who, separated completely from his own person, stands unconditionally in the service of the nation, knows how to hold his ground and is the only one fit to lead and to speak in the name of the nation."

"The politician, more than any one else, must be the guardian of the traditional values of the nation and must be the ever ready interpreter of the Natural Law in any given situation. Should any one lack the one or the other, he is not fit to be the representative of the nation, because he will either become a figure tossed about by contemporary political or social currents which has no connection with the living corpus of the nation, or else he will be a museum guardian of the nation who stands afar from contemporary routes along which life flows and on which the fate of the future of the nation is determined."

"Whoever boasts that he is a loyal son of the nation, he must also ponder what he is giving to his nation. Whether an infection which causes a fever, or bacilli which cause decay and can bring the nation to the grave; or whether he contributes labor which shall forever remain in the nation as a cell of healthy social and cultural development."

"A nation whose sons do not know how to bear a blow and personal sacrifices, such a nation will not get far. The nation lives, the whole lives, only by the fight and work of individuals."

"Love for the nation is a religious precept, and a person sins against the Fourth Commandment who does not love his nation. He bears a stigma not only as an earthly traitor, but also as a transgressor who does not keep the Divine Commandments."

Every loyal son of the Slovak nation, according to Tiso, "sanctifies his nationalism with a Christian spirit, so that

nationalism be not a slogan or a mantle of dubious aims, but an internal motivating force to create values for the benefit of the national whole."

### **In the Spirit of Tiso for a New Independence**

From the above quotations it is quite evident that the main principles of Dr. Joseph Tiso's ideology were: 1. Natural Law; 2. Love in place of hatred; 3. Right instead of violence; 4. Respect for morality; 5. Nation above the State. 6. Loyalty to traditions; 7. Personal selflessness and sacrifice of political factors; 8. Nationalism sanctified by Christianity; 9. Social justice; and 10. Religious tolerance.

During the decades of his successful political activity, Dr. Tiso developed these ideas not only in his manifestations to the people, but also in his classically and stately styled reflections, parliamentary speeches, and presidential messages, so that the expert schooled in statecraft and sociology will have little difficulty in systematically elaborating his ideology. Dr. Tiso himself indicated Christianity as the outlet of his ideas, especially the philosophy of St. Thomas<sup>4</sup>, and in the social sphere the Papal Encyclicals. On the question of nationalism Tiso said that "the symbol of Slovak nationalism is Štúr"<sup>5</sup>, because "Štúr's nationalism was the dynamic force in individuals whom he prompted to work and sacrifice for the nation; it was the connecting link of individuals into a rock-firm whole with a united aim and a united will..."<sup>6</sup>

A study of Dr. Tiso's manifestations reveals that he frequently tied in his talks with the spiritual-political heritage of the followers of Louis Štúr, the great Slovak patriot and "father of modern Slovak nationalism." And Tiso did this consciously to preserve the continuity of Slovak ideological-political development and so that the Slovaks could build on traditions. If we compare the basic ideas of Štúr's political and philosophical manifestations — which are dealt with in several published works<sup>7</sup> — with Tiso's, then the ideological structure, as well as the entire political activity of Dr. Tiso, of course, shows an entire series of preferences and varied outlines.



Objectively it may already be said today that tying in with Štúr and the ideological continuity of former Slovak generations, Dr. Tiso anchors more deeply in Christian world outlook on the individual and his relation to the state, nation, family, and society. His ideology is firmly founded on the principles of modern sociology and statecraft; it has solid philosophical foundations and a strictly logical system; it emanates from an idea and stresses the primacy of spirituality, but it depends on the reality of life and respects actuality; it is the result of long years of study and political experience, drawn from daily contact with the nation and into unceasing struggle with its enemies, so that it is, as it were, forged in the fire of battles and tested in confrontation with the actual life of the nation in the phase of its political formation, but also in the phase of struggles for its natural rights and, finally, also in the period of building up its own state.

In comparison to the ideology of the Štúrites, we are concerned, therefore, with an ideology whose foundations are not only broader by far, but one which was more thought out, mature and tested by life. Divine Providence had allowed Dr. Joseph Tiso a life of political activity almost as long as Štúr's entire life (1815-1856) and, hence, he could see the ideas, which he promulgated and for which he labored and fought, validated in national life. If we should compare Dr. Tiso as a politician and ideologue with other factors of Slovak life, then objectively it can be said that during the last 100 years there was no political factor in Slovakia who could compare with Dr. Joseph Tiso as far as preparation for political activity, working out of ideology and the concert of expressed principles with their validation unto self-immolation are concerned. If any of them did shine in theoretical expressions and plans, either fate did not grant them to measure up with reality, or they were only gleaners of grain where Dr. Joseph Tiso was the owner of fruitful fields of ideological and character wealth.

Living Slovak generations will therefore hardly find a better example than Dr. Tiso, or a better ideology than

the one he sanctified with his blood. Anchored in eternal principles and designed for the future of the Slovak nation, it can be the most certain course for winning a new and full independence for the Slovaks.

Czech chauvinism and Communist hatred did not kill the idea of Slovak independence by murdering Dr. Tiso. Conversely, they gave the nation more martyrs and, therefore, the idea shall win out sooner or later.

#### REFERENCES:

1. "Tisova náuka," Dr. Štefan Polakovič, Bratislava, 1941.
2. "Dr. Jozef Tiso o sebe," edited by Dr. Joseph Paučo, Passaic, N. J., 1952.
3. This and other quotations are taken from either one of the previous two references.
4. "All who recall our thesis that 'the nation is the substance and the state only the form' should know that is state-political formula is the practical consequence of the state-political theory which is built on the foundations of Thomistic philosophy." — SLOVÁK, 1935.
5. See "Prvé posolstvo" (The First Message), Ružomberok, August 16, 1939. Already in 1936 Dr. Tiso had proclaimed: "It is this monument of Louis Štúr, built in the Bánovce country, that shall be the visible proof of the fact that we have progressed so far that only we, Slovak Catholics, have not forgotten our Slovak past and we pay our respects to the memory of our national awakeners even when they are Evangelicals (Lutherans), as was Štúr." — SLOVÁK, 1936.
6. Dr. Tiso also characterized Štúr's nationalism in this manner: "Štúr's nationalism — built on the foundation of the independent Slovak nation and the genuine Slovak language, because it acknowledges the law of God and the law nature — was the natural foundation of the life of the Slovak nation." — SLOVÁK, 1936.
7. Among the most significant works are those of Professor Číževský, Dr. Stephen Polakovič, Dr. Samuel Š. Osuský, Profesor Rapant, and Dr. Joseph Paučo.

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#### WHO SAID IT?

"The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people, or of any other peoples in the world." — **F. D. Roosevelt**, Feb. 12, 1943.

## I WAS EDITOR OF PRESIDENT TISO'S NEWSPAPER

JOSEPH PAUČO

(Msgr. Joseph Tiso, prelate of the Catholic Church, was president of the Slovak Republic from 1939 to 1945. The pro-Communist regime of Dr. Edward Beneš executed him on the gallows, April 18, 1947, after a lengthy mock trial, before which the presiding judge had declared, echoing the words of Beneš, that "Tiso must hang." Dr. Paučo's article is a brief recollection of the years he spent in free Bratislava as "Tiso's" editor.)

Shortly after I was appointed editor of the "SLOVÁK," the official organ of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party, my secretary entered my office to announce that President Dr. Joseph Tiso wished to see me.

"Where is he?" I asked excitedly.

"In my office," replied the secretary.

At that time I had a visitor, whom I requested to be excused because President Tiso had arrived, but the latter was already coming through the door of my office. Overhearing my request of the visitor, the President, greeting me and shaking my hand, said: "Now, Joe, you just finish your business with your visitor. I am a citizen like anyone else."

That was characteristic of Dr. Joseph Tiso, the President of the Slovak Republic, who always considered himself only "one of the people."

When my predecessor, Dr. Aladár Kočíš, handed over the editorship of the "SLOVÁK," he reminded me that, among other things, I should visit President Tiso regularly. Dr. Joseph Tiso, he told me, wanted to be informed about what was going on in the editorial office of the largest Slovak daily, which was otherwise regarded as the official newspaper of Dr. Tiso, since he was the chairman of the entire enterprise.

But Dr. Tiso did not feel the necessity of personal contacts with the editorial office because of commercial considerations. He was mainly concerned with the spirit of the enterprise. It was necessary to defend Slovak interests. He



was aware of the great influence of the press and, hence, fully appreciated it.

As a youthful journalist I naturally welcomed the support of the President. I visited Dr. Tiso regularly once a week, and when circumstances called for it even more frequently. Of course, besides personal visits, there were also many phone calls between the editorial office of the "SLOVÁK" and the president's palace. The editor-in-chief always had the doors to the president's office open to him; there was no specified time for his visits. Whenever I phoned Tiso's personal secretary, Dr. Karol Murín, that I would like to see the president, in every instance he replied that I should come over at once. If my memory does not fail me, I believe I had to wait a half-hour or a bit more only twice in three years to see Dr. Tiso; and this happened because Tiso was in conference with foreign diplomatic representatives.

Entering the president's office, I usually found Dr. Tiso at his desk, going through his mail or studying various state papers, proposed legislative acts, and activities of the various branches of government or the Hlinka Party, of which he was chairman.

When I greeted him, he would raise his head, remove his spectacles and reply: "Welcome, young man, welcome!" Whenever I missed a meeting with the President, for some reason other, at the very next meeting he would ask where I had been, whether I had been ill.

During these visits there were various matters that interested me. Of these not the least interesting was to observe the effects of the visitor before me. Once it would be a prime minister, other times a worker from the countryside; then again some deputy, economic expert, high officer, a foreign correspondent, or a member of the Cabinet. Once in a while some one would come up with an alarming report or rumor.

President Tiso excluded no one from visiting him; he listened attentively to all and in every instance did whatever he could to satisfy all comers. Whenever I met him,

President Tiso usually was either in a pensive or a smiling mood. Even at times when he appeared in a serious mood, and during our conversation it would seem to me that in his mind he is returning to the fresh impressions of previous visitors, yet in a short while his face would brighten up and his melodious voice would ring out in healthy laughter. President Tiso had a real sense of humor.

Dr. Joseph Tiso never acted in an affected or artificial manner. Once in 1939, when he was being welcomed in Nitra, an event which I witnessed, the district official addressed Tiso as "Your Excellency." At that Time Dr. Tiso smilingly reminded him: "Without the excellency, Mr. official!" From that time on, I never heard anyone address Dr. Tiso as "His Excellency." In his study Tiso was happy to be addressed simply as "Mr. President" (Pán prezident), as he was when his parishioners called him "Reverend Deacon." Conversations with Tiso usually began with his asking about one's health, his family, and his work. He was always very much interested in the work of our editorial office.

President Tiso was not often curious about details, unless it was a matter of immediate interest, like, for example, the political side of our editorial work. Furthermore there was not a single visit during which we would not touch upon the most serious objective and personal moments which influenced Slovak politics. Dr. Tiso spoke openly about individual resolutions of the Parliament, the deputies, ministers, the Germans, and in general about everything that had any influence on Slovak life and the presidential office.

On occasions Dr. Tiso recalled many innovations especially of his political opponents. He criticized them unsparingly and talked about them with feelings of bitterness; his criticism was sincere at all times, whether it concerned Slovaks or foreigners.

I always felt refreshed in the President's study. Usually Dr. Tiso gave no directives how any article was to be written. On the other hand, however, he willingly read the

more delicate articles before they went to print. Even when I asked him what from the ideological standpoint we should deal with most on the pages of the "SLOVÁK," he would usually reply: "Hold the line. Don't let yourself be broken. Don't be discouraged—persevere!" Nothing more and nothing less.

Otherwise, however, the editorial office of the "SLOVÁK" had an exemplary coworker in the person of President Tiso. His speeches, articles and messages were carefully prepared. Dr. Tiso prepared and wrote them himself. On occasions, especially for Christmas and March 14th, the President gave us articles written in his own hand so that we might have them on time; these were usually accompanied by the remark: "Correct as you see fit." On his visits to us, he would always compliment all the workers connected with the paper, saying: "Fine work, men; keep up the good work; give the best that's in you!"

I'll conclude with what I had mentioned at the beginning: the visits of President Tiso to the editorial office of the "SLOVÁK." He came among us regularly. When he visited us the first time, all of us were very surprised that he was accompanied only by his personal secretary. No secret, no public police came with him; none in or outside the building; and none in his auto. On occasions he visited us coming on foot alone, without a bodyguard. That was Tiso: his people did not fear him, and he did not fear his people. No man in Slovakia was more revered and loved than was Tiso. I attended many gatherings which Dr. Tiso addressed; I traveled with him. Not once did he have more than one person accompany him. Not to guard him, but simply to accompany him. President Tiso moved about freely and without fear in Bratislava and everywhere in Slovakia, just as he did at the altar where he daily said the Holy Mass to his Divine Master.

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**RECOMMENDED BOOKS:** "The Slovaks" (Jurchak \$3.00; **SLOVAK FOR BEGINNERS**" (Books I-III) \$1.50 (the set); "Hrobak's English-Slovak Dictionary" \$4.00; "SLOVAK LESSONS" (Hrobak) \$3.50.



## EIGHT FATAL DAYS IN THE LIFE OF DR. JOSEPH TISO

KAROL MURÍN

(The author of this article was the personal secretary of President Dr. Joseph Tiso from 1938 until Tiso's tragic end in 1947. At the present time Dr. Karol Murín is on the professional staff of Montreal University.)

On April 8, 1945, just a month before the conclusion of World War II in the West, at President Tiso's request, I went to Munich to ask for an audience with His Eminence Cardinal Faulhaber. The reason was that I was to inform the Cardinal of Monsignor Tiso's arrival in Kremsmünster and petition him to graciously do what he could to protect the President of Slovakia. Munich at that time was a shambles.

The Cardinal received me in the afternoon; his residence was damaged extensively by bombs and shells. After waiting for a moment in a small, poorly furnished room, Cardinal Faulhaber made his appearance, the burdens of the war clearly apparent on his features. After the customary Slovak greeting "Laudetur . . .," I went on one knee before him, kissed his ring, and then presented myself. The Cardinal replied to the greeting and asked me to be seated. After a few introductory words, I told him the purpose of my visit.

I must admit that I did expect several questions. During the war years it had become the custom to classify people only into two categories: the democrats on the one side, and the nazis and fascists on the other. No one asked why or how a person got to be on the one or the other side, or even what one did. According to that attitude, which excluded all colors between black and white, Stalin and the bolsheviks were regarded as democrats, while Dr. Tiso was supposed to be a nazi; Beneš, despite his pro-Soviet and evident bolshevizing tendencies and the fact that he was responsible for the death of thousands of people, was regarded as a "moral" democrat, while Dr. Tiso, despite his prayers and many acts of kindness and his great love for

his Slovak people, or just because of this, was regarded as a criminal.

Cardinal Faulhaber, however, never did belong among the people who measured morality according to their own interest and evaluated their neighbor and acknowledged his right to life only according to the benefit they might reap from him. He was accustomed to judge and measure according to the eternal and unchangeable principles of Christ. That is why he had become the symbol of the fight against nazi blunders, and the world regarded him highly for it.

"I know about your President," began Cardinal Faulhaber, "and I know that he defended the Christian Faith in Slovakia."

From what he further said, it was evident that he was well-informed about Slovakia and especially about the activity of President Tiso. He immediately set himself to the task of doing what he could to secure the safety of Tiso in the face of the surge of passions resulting for the most part from the false information propagated by Dr. Edward Beneš. The three alternatives mentioned by the Cardinal are proof of his love for President Tiso: 1. He invited the President to his residence; 2. he offered as a temporary abode for President Tiso the Capuchin monastery at Alt Ötting; or, 3. the Scheyrn monastery. Both monasteries were in the Freising-Munich Archdiocese which Cardinal Faulhaber administered. According to circumstances, as they might develop in regard to Tiso, the Slovak President was free to resort to the alternative most favorable to him.

My audience with Cardinal Faulhaber lasted two hours. He told me about what especially worried him and made him fearful about the future: about the plans formulated by fanatics for the last days of the war, about the night of the long knives ("Nacht der langen Messer"), during which they intended to liquidate revered and respected Catholic priests and laity.

The last half hour of my visit I spent with the Cardinal in his study. Looking over a map of Bavaria, His Eminence compared the advantages and disadvantages of

the two monasteries; the Scheyrn Monastery was more advantageous, except, of course, if the "night of the long knives" should be realized. At the end of my visit I thanked Cardinal Faulhaber sincerely for the time he gave me, asked for his blessing, and departed after His Eminence bade me Godspeed.

President Tiso was happy to hear my report about my visit to Cardinal Faulhaber after I returned to Kremsmünster. In no time at all, President Tiso decided to accept the hospitality of the Archbishop's palace only as a last resort; he did not wish to burden one of the outstanding Princes of the Church with the cares and troubles of his Slovak people and his own person, because he was aware of the fact that the saintly Cardinal was greatly burdened by the troubles of his own German people.

At the beginning of May, 1945, when Dr. Joseph Tiso left Kremsmünster for the West, he was not definitely certain whether he would seek refuge at Alt Ötting or Scheyrn. In any event, however, he decided to first stop at Alt Ötting. On the first leg of his journey, President Tiso was supposed to leave a written or oral message for me at the rectory of the Bavarian community of Stammham. I set out after President Tiso about two weeks later, stopping first at Stammham, where the pastor told me that I would find the person I was seeking at the first place we had talked about. That same afternoon I met with President Tiso in the monastery at Alt Ötting.

My first task was to again make contact with Cardinal Faulhaber. Since the war had just ended in the West, everything was chaos and confusion; outside the military, there was no public transportation to speak of; and no one was permitted to travel even short distances without a permit. After about a week in Alt Ötting, which, by the way, is one of the most famous of pilgrimage cities, I was quite fortunate in getting to Munich.

The Cardinal received me shortly after I was announced. He was in better spirits than he had been on April 8th: the "night of the long knives," thank God, did not come about! In due time the Cardinal told me of his

plan to help President Tiso: he wanted to secure a plane to take Tiso to the Vatican. However, before he could begin working out his plan, the Cardinal said, he wanted to get the assent of the Papal Nuncio. During the entire war, the Nuncio for Germany was Archbishop Cesare Orsenigo. Cardinal Faulhaber asked me to look him up as soon as possible and present his desire to help Dr. Joseph Tiso to him, reckoning also with help to transport Tiso to the Vatican. In the Cardinal's name I was to ask His Excellency whether he agreed with his step.

At that time the Papal Nuncio, His Excellency Cesare Orsenigo, resided in Eichstätt in northern Bavaria. To get to him by auto I needed gasoline and to get gasoline I had to see the American authorities. Aware of this, Cardinal Faulhaber wrote a letter telling whoever it may concern that I was his courier, carrying mail and reports from the Cardinal to the Papal Nuncio. For a longer time the Cardinal could not send mail to the Nuncio, so he really appreciated this opportunity to do so. Besides that Cardinal Faulhaber gave me a general recommendation which I could use as I thought best.

The next day I travelled by auto to Eichstätt. Below the portals to the Archbishop's palace, by sheer accident, I met with a group of four Slovaks, who had come by auto. After hearty handshakes and embraces, all gratefully accompanied me on my journey.

Archbishop Orsenigo received me warmly. After I gave him the mail from Cardinal Faulhaber, he listened with great interest to my report about the fate of President Tiso. To the Cardinal's question he replied thusly: "Tell His Eminence that I not only agree that he do everything possible in his power to save Dr. Tiso, but that I most ardently beg him to do so."

Then the Archbishop said that he was completely out of contact with the world, adding that a certain member of the Swiss diplomatic corps in Berlin is supposed to visit him this same afternoon and take his first mail in a long time to the Vatican. He graciously offered to be of service if I had anything to send outside the borders of Germany.

As soon as Cardinal Faulhaber had the Nuncio's reply, he immediately wrote a letter to the Vatican in which he told of his intention to transport Dr. Tiso by plane to the Vatican. His greatest worry was how to send the letter. Besides American planes only an accidental diplomat, who saved his petrol well, could be considered. In about a week I was supposed to return for further reports and advice.

After eight days, I visited Cardinal Faulhaber again, who greeted me and then told me of the unfortunate thing that had happened. He was almost in tears. The Cardinal told me that the day after he had written the letter to the Vatican in regard to Tiso, he had secured a way of getting the letter to the Vatican. According to a promise made to the Cardinal by a person unknown to me, this person was supposed to take the letter before his departure from Munich. But the day before my last visit to Cardinal Faulhaber, when he asked his chancery whether there was any reply from the Vatican in regard to Tiso, he learned to his utter sorrow that the letter was still in his palace, the person who promised to deliver it to the Vatican evidently forgetting to pick it up.

This unexpected delay worried the Cardinal and his concern was great, as if he had a foreboding that so very much depended on those eight days. After giving vent to his great disappointment, Cardinal Faulhaber again gave me his blessing and asked me to return in a week.

I did return, but only after over two years.

After my last visit to the Cardinal, we learned about the arrest of the members of the Slovak Government in Kremsmünster. President Tiso asked for reports about what had happened there. My request for a travel permit into Upper Austria lay on the desk of the CIC in Alt Ötting for several days. Fate came into play. With the CIC in Alt Ötting there collaborated a man by the name of Spigler who was originally from Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. When he came upon my name, Spigler immediately came to the monastery and forbade me to leave the building. After two days he took me to jail.

During my confinement in the monastery, it became

quite evident that this Bratislava agent, full of personal resentment, found out that President Tiso was in the monastery. After my arrest President Tiso wrote to Cardinal Faulhaber, respectfully requesting His Eminence to notify the American authorities that he was staying in the monastery and that he use his influence to set me free, as well as that he continue to give consideration to his own case. The Capuchin Provincial delivered the President's letter to Cardinal Faulhaber. In the meantime, I was transferred to a concentration camp where frightful conditions prevailed.

One hot and sultry afternoon, at the beginning of June, 1945, a jeep pulled up before the barbed-wire camp. I became numb when I sighted President Tiso in it. It was at this point that my pilgrimage to various concentration camps with President Tiso began, the tour which finally ended in the Bratislava jail.

We felt the benefiscence of good Cardinal Faulhaber once again in the concentration camp at Garmisch Partenkirchen. It was on his initiative that the events, which had taken place during the reception of our group in this camp, were investigated.

The Cardinal's effort to help Dr. Joseph Tiso did not result in success. Nevertheless, the Slovaks will never forget that Cardinal Faulhaber, now deceased, really did try to save Dr. Joseph Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic.

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#### WHO SAID IT?

"With equal enthusiasm we are today manifesting for the ideals of our, and only our, Czechoslovak Democracy, which is on its way of development to a new people's form. . . . The unreserved alliance with our Eastern neighbor, with the mighty USSR, but also our friendly contacts with the rest of the world, especially with our western democracies, gives us the feeling of certainty that no matter what might happen abroad, our international position is firm and we need not fear that we can come upon new dangers and difficulties." (Dr. Joseph Lettrich, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia," ČAS, November 18, 1947).



## SLOVAKIA: TRIAL OF DR. JOSEPH TISO

(Under previous order of the House, the Hon. Ray J. Madden from Indiana, was recognized for 20 minutes to make the following address on the floor of the House of Representatives, March 31, 1947):

Mr. Speaker, America and all liberty-loving nations should at this time concentrate against international situations which might bring about war in the future. I have, on several occasions, stated on the floor of Congress that the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter is our greatest antidote for future peace. **Self-government, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion is essential for smaller countries as it is for the large nations.** Our Nation, during World War II, spent billions of dollars and sacrificed in lives and casualties to preserve the above principles in order to insure liberty and future peace.

Since VJ-day, aggression and tyranny has again launched in certain areas of Europe. The latest example of persecution, unfair trial, and threatened execution for political belief is that of Dr. Joseph Tiso, former President of the Interim Republic of Slovakia. Dr. Tiso has been acclaimed a hero in the eyes of nearly all the people of Slovakia and the prevailing majority of Americans of Slovak ancestry. My attention has been called to the fact that over 80 percent of the Slovak American fraternal organizations have forthrightly declared themselves to be of the opinion that Tiso was a hero in the defense of the best interests of the Slovak people. During his presidency, Slovakia thrived, progressed, and developed internally more than it had during any five years of the existence of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. **The communistic control now over the country of Slovakia will execute Dr. Tiso, a political prisoner, unless our Government intervenes.** This communistic control is inflicted upon the people of Slovakia in spite of the fact that the election of May 26, 1946, gave over 64 percent of the total vote cast against the present government. The press is likewise controlled, at least to the extent that the newspaper cannot publish what they think. This is evidenced in the fact that four American newspapers have

been barred in Slovakia. The present communistic government will brook no freedom of political thought; though the people voted for Christian democracy, they received totalitarian communism.

The archbishop of Slovakia testified at the trial of Dr. Tiso. He is and has been a respected member not only of the hierarchy of Czecho-Slovakia, but of the official family of Czecho-Slovakia, including its President Edward Benes. Appearing as a witness for Dr. Tiso, the archbishop testified that:

**Tiso acted and worked in the interest of Slovakia and was never a traitor, and that his election as President of Slovakia was the will of 90 percent of the Slovaks at that time and was acclaimed by the bishops, priests, and ministers of both the Catholic and Protestant churches.**

It is apparent that Czecho-Slovakia has been re-created with the aid of Moscow and that Moscow will undoubtedly demand the extinction of Slovak national leaders of ability and high intellect. The ways of the Communists are devious and it behooves us to understand more of the Slovak situation. In the meantime, the least that freedom loving nations can ask is that the so-called peoples courts in the Communist-dominated countries in eastern Europe, refrain from any further political executions or from liquidating political opposition by long-term imprisonment as in the case of Archbishop Stepinac. All of this adds up to the price we will have to pay to aid in the establishing of true democracy in the countries of eastern Europe to insure world peace.

In supporting President Truman's international program, we cannot be unmindful of what is happening throughout this region in Europe, comprising over 100,000,000 Christians who have nothing in common with communism. We have heard of political executions, imprisonment, and banishment of outstanding citizens in Poland, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and other small countries. Thousands of brave Polish soldiers who fought to stamp out fascism are now prohibited from returning to their native Poland by a communistic controlled government. Americans are asking the question **"do we not have at least a moral obli-**

gation to voice our protest against such trials and executions?"

The judge who presided at the trial of Dr. Tiso, previous to the trial, vowed personal vengeance on Tiso and was provided this opportunity by being placed in charge of the case.

These facts, though not appearing in the American press releases, are not disputed. Almost unanimously, the people of Slovak descent in America, are rising in protest to the impending execution of Dr. Tiso. I ask the Members of Congress to join with me in protesting this unjust conviction by interceding with President Truman and Secretary Marshall to use their good offices to prevent this injustice.

We might as well apply the words of the Honorable Judge Robert H. Jackson:

All experience teaches that there are certain things you cannot do under guise of judicial trial. \* \* \* You must put no man on trial before anything that is called a court, if you are not prepared to establish his personal guilt \* \* \* If you are determined to execute a man in any case, there is no occasion for trial. The world yields no respect to courts that are merely organized to convict. — Congressional Record.

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**ON TISO'S BEHALF:**

### **PLEA OF THE COUNCIL OF SLOVAK BISHOPS**

To the Presidium of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava:

The Catholic Episcopal Council of Slovakia, in past years, has more frequently turned to appropriate governmental offices in the interest of those who were suffering, were imprisoned or persecuted — without regard to whether Catholics or non-Catholics were concerned. The example of the Divine Samaritan and His positive command prompted and encouraged us to raise our protective voice in the interests of the people who were suffering on account of political or racial reasons and we did that at a time when we could expect various humiliations in return.

This noblest Model in all history and His commandment, expressed in the Gospel, we bear in mind even now, when we respectfully commend to Your graciousness the fate of the former President Dr. Joseph Tiso. We do this not only because a Catholic priest is concerned, but also because the solution of his personal problem shall have a far-reaching influence on the thinking and behavior of a part of the Slovak nation in respect to the renovated Czechoslovak Republic and its representatives.

Furthermore, we are prompted to take this step also by the generally known actuality, which is conceded by all objective critics, that Dr. Joseph Tiso always was a zealous priest, of a virtuous life. In his extensive activity he tried to work for the good of the whole, and personally did not enrich himself.

The administration of justice belongs among the most difficult tasks of state power. Experience proves that this delicate task is aggravated when the judgment of political transgressions is concerned. History tells us how many fatal mistakes were made during political trials — and this results from the delicate task of impartially judging the activities of a political opponent. So, it is no rarity that after rendering severe verdicts in political trials, sooner or later a call for their revision was made.

In judging the activity especially of a political factor his intentions also should be given consideration. The majority of the Slovak nation is convinced with us that the intentions of Dr. Joseph Tiso while performing public functions were the best.

Certainly some mistakes were made and the Catholic Bishops of Slovakia did not fail to bring these to his attention. However, here we must mention the generally known reality that even the most clever political factors frequently made serious mistakes. Nevertheless an unbiased observer — whether a contemporary or historian — can deduce an over-all judgment only when he evaluates also the good and positive things they did. And this thesis often outweighs the mistakes which they made in their weakness.

It will be pertinent to the matter at hand to shed some light also from another viewpoint on the mistakes which are ascribed to Dr. Joseph Tiso. We respectfully point out at least some of the circumstances.

After the most recent announcements of the present governmental factors even the Žilina events of October, 1938, are presented in a different light than that shed by the one-sided propaganda to persuade the public; nay, even in the press it was demonstrated that in these political changes practically all Slovak political parties had participated.

Here it is necessary to recall also the very important document which has just now been made public during the Nuremberg trials; we mean the letter of the ruler of the Hungarian realm sent to Berlin in March 13, 1939. This weighty circumstance gives an altogether different significance to the March 14, 1939, decision of Dr. Joseph Tiso and the other political factors of that time. One should think about what would have happened with the Slovak nation if the plan of Horthy had succeeded?

We also know that after the issuance of anti-Jewish regulations, Dr. Joseph Tiso did want to resign from the presidency. That he did not do so happened because he tried to hamper and ameliorate the effects of those provisions, as well as to prevent a greater evil. It is worthy of consideration that what the ruler of the larger and more independent Hungary could not prevent in his country — Dr. Joseph Tiso could not prevent in Slovakia.

After considering all the circumstances after the passage of time, even other pilloried political mistakes — such as the war in the east, the events of August 29, 1944 — can be judged otherwise than the manner in which it is done by a one-sided propaganda.

The entire Slovak public is following the developments of events around Dr. Joseph Tiso with attention and in its majority is taking a negative stand towards those efforts which would incite hatred against his person. Thereby the unfortunate splintering of the nation is increased when unity of all forces is so greatly desired for the important

work of construction. It will be to the credit of the far-sightedness of the State and will serve the peace of the nation, if the case of Dr. Joseph Tiso is solved in a cautious way and not with merciless hardness. The above thoughts have prompted us to respectfully submit our plea for your gracious consideration and favorable decision.

With an expression of profound respect:

(Signatures):

**Dr. Karol Kmeňko**, Archbishop-Bishop of Nitra; **Jozef Čársky**, Bishop-Apostolic Administrator; **Dr. Andrej Škrábik**, Bishop on Banská Bystrica; **Dr. Jozef Tomanócy**; **Dr. Karol Jantausch**; **Dr. Eduard Nécsey**, ordaining Bishop.

Bratislava, January 8, 1946.

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## HERO AND PATRIOT OF SLOVAKIA

The smaller nations have been the martyrs in the maelstrom that evil men made out of Europe in the last decade. Changing fortunes of war often presented a double crown of martyrdom. Honest men in these minor states often found it difficult to see where the path of honor lay, but once their conscience revealed the way they remained steadfast in what they believed their sacred duty.

Slovakia has presented such a puzzling picture. The Slovaks had long sought and had long been denied their independence. When the moment dawned for freedom before the last war, there is no doubt that the patriots of that land felt that their long-deferred ambitions had been realized. There was outside wonder at the auspices under which freedom came but there can be no question about the sincerity of the Slovak patriots who meant to use their new prerogatives solely for the good of Slovakia. Chief among these was Monsignor Joseph Tiso who was elected president of the new republic.

The war's outcome threw Slovakia as part of the old Czecho-Slovakian state into the Red orbit. Monsignor Tiso was placed on trial for treason. It could not be proved that he was a traitor to Slovakia for the simple reason that he never was a traitor to Slovakia. But that did not prevent



his condemnation and execution. History is filled with these rigged trials and martyrs deaths.

The condemned priest left a noble testament to his beloved Slovak people. On the eve of his unjust execution he wrote: "In the spirit of the sacrifice I am about to make, I send this message to the Slovak nation:

"In harmony and unison pursue always, everywhere and in every respect the great principle: FOR GOD AND FOR THE NATION.

"This is not only the unequivocal intent of Slovak history, but also the explicit command of God, Who has made it the law of nature and has inculcated it into the soul of the nation and every one of its members.

"This precept I have served all my life and, therefore, I consider myself first of all a martyr of God's law. Secondly, I feel that I am a martyr in the defense of Christianity against bolshevism, against which our nation must in all possible ways defend itself, not only in the spirit of its Christian character, but also in the interest of its future.

"As I beg you to remember me in your prayers, so do I promise to pray to God Almighty for you and supplicate that he bless the Slovak nation in its vital struggle for God and for the nation, so that the Slovak nation will always remain a faithful and devoted son of the Church of Christ."

When this black night in Europe passes with the destruction of the powers of darkness incarnated in atheistic communism Father Tiso will be seen as the hero that he truly was. — (The Catholic Universe Bulletin, Cleveland, O., 6-27-47).

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## THE TERRITORY OF ANCIENT SLOVAKIA

P. A. HROBAK

Today there is no doubt that the original homeland of the ancestors of present-day Slovaks was somewhere beyond the Carpathian Mountains. We know that the Slovaks came into their present territory — which was later incorrectly called "Uhry" (hura=hora; úhor, úhorie=near, at the foot of, the mountains)—through the western Carpathians. Historical records do not tell us exactly when the Slovak ancients migrated from their original homeland,

but it appears that this happened before the sixth, and not later than the beginning of the sixth, century.

The question what territory the ancestors of the Slovaks occupied or settled, and whether 1918 or 1938 Slovakia was smaller or larger than that territory, intrigued many scholars of history, archeology, and philosophy. Their studies definitely proved that the ancestors of the Slovaks had occupied a territory vastly greater than the area of present-day Slovakia; they proved that the Slovaks settled even beyond the Danube and occupied the northern area between the Tisa and Danube rivers.

Paul J. Šafárik, in his "Slovanské Starožitnosti" (Slovanic Antiquities), dealt with the question whether the ancestors of the Slovak nation had settled also on the territory beyond the Danube. He replied in the affirmative, stating that if we are willing to consider ancient testimonies about the Slovanic inhabitants of that area with an open mind, we shall come to the conviction that they belong nowhere more properly than to the Moravians and the Slovaks. Šafárik placed the Slovak boundary in the center of Moravia. About the boundary between the Tisa and the Danube rivers, he said: "At Pešť, Vacov, and beneath Mt. Matra there was at that time a boundary between the Bulgarians and inhabitants of Moravia, and the salt mines in Marmaroš were in possession of the former."

Šafárik's views were accepted by several excellent scholars, among them: Joseph Škultéty (O bývalom Hornom Uhorsku, 1929, 1932; O Slovákoch, 1928; Zo slovenskej minulosti, 1936); Roessler (Zeitpunct, 93); K. J. Grot (Moravija i Mađjary s poloviny IX. do načala X. veka — Petrograd, 1881); Maretič (Slaveni u davnini). Ľubor Niederle, however, let the question of Pannonia to the philologists.

After Šafárik, various historians and philologists devoted their time to this question. And the Magyars, who inhabited the territory in question at the present time, did also. Professor John Melich, eminent Magyar historian and philologist, supports Šafárik's deduction in his book "A honfoglaláskori Magyarország" (Budapest, 1925-29); Ele-

mér Moór did also in his excellent, objective work "West-ungarn im Mittelalter im Spiegel der Orstnamen (Segedín, 1936; and Ungarische Jahrbücher, 1929); likewise, Stephen Kniezsa, in several articles published in the "Archivum Europae Centro-orientalis" and in the "Ungarische Jahrbücher" (1937-38).

Moór's work practically exhausted all sources about western Hungary (Transdanubia); Melich's did not go quite as far, nor did the studies of Kniezsa. These studies, however, even of themselves are sufficient to convince us that the ancestors of the Slovak nation had settled on a much greater territory than present Slovakia.

We know that Prince Pribina and his son Kocel' fled from Nitra to Pannonia; they resided in Blatnohrad. The source, which describes their activity, comes to us from 871 A.D. and is called: "Libellum de Conversone Bagoariorum et Caranthanorum." This document, recording the events of 850, mentions the names of the magnates in Pribina's escort: 15 are Slovanic, while 17 are German. A careful scrutiny of the Slovanic names will convince us that these names were common with western Slovans, particularly with the dwellers of ancient Nitra. Old Latin documents from Nitra record the names of magnates which have the same linguistic foundation as the names of Pribina's magnates. But so do many personal names of southern and eastern Slovakia, as well as eastern Moravia! Taking all the given data and connecting them with the fact that Pribina and Kocel' were Slovaks, we must conclude that the majority of the 15 names are Slovak.

Melich, stating that the Magyars found Slovaks in Pannonia when they came there (p. 397), said that the names existing on the territory of the Pribina-Kocel' principality make it apparently certain that the Slovaks, the western Slovans (Slavs), also inhabited the land from Balaton Lake to the north, probably to the northern line of Tét-Sokoró-Bakoň (p. 395).

"It seems to me," said Melich, "that the proofs presented confirm the testimony of geographical names. Pribina-Kocel's Slovans (Slavs) were Slovaks. However, in-

asmuch as even from Balaton Lake to the south the Slovans live here and there, they were Slovaks for the most part" (p. 396).

Names of rivers and places also prove that the Slovaks settled in northern Pannonia. According to Dr. Melich, the name **Balaton** is Slovak, because if it were of southern Slav (Yugoslav) origin, the Magyar equivalent would have to be written "**Baláton**" (long "á"). Near the Bakoň Forest is a stream which the Magyars today call "**Cuha**;" this is derived from the Slovak "**Suchá**" (dry); if it were of Yugoslav origin, according to Melich again, it would have to be written "**Cúha**" (long "ú").

There are many such names in Pannonia. The city of **Veszprém** (Vesprím) is of western-Slav origin; it comes from **Bezprēm**. A person named Bezprēm is mentioned in the history of Břevnov, Bohemia, in the twelfth century; we also find the name in old Slovak documents. Furthermore, the name of the town of **Tihány** is derived from the Slovak name **Tichoň** and is so written in documents of the 11th century. The name of the town **Noszlop** comes from the Slovak noun "**Neostup**," just like the Moravian "Ostopovice, Vostopovice" are derived from the noun "**Ostup**."

According to these and similar appellations, Professor Melich concludes (p. 395) the Slovaks lived from the Balaton Lake to the north. His researches, convincing as they are, reveal much more. On the right bank of the Danube we find towns and cities with apparently Slovak names: Ostrihom, Budín, Tetín, Vesprím, Vyšegrád-Vyšehrad, and opposite Parkán we find Neszmely (from the Slovak **Nesmily**), which are mentioned as a harbor and a river crossing in 1237-1240. In the west, Slovak settlements extended probably to the river Raab.

These names demonstrate that northern Pannonia was occupied by the Slovaks, and partly by the Germans, before the advent of the Magyars. There are not many Slovaks there today. But there is an appreciable number of them south of Ostrihom and above the Bakoň Forest. Some chronicles, that of "Anonymous" among them, say that the

Magyars annihilated the Slovaks there, but the fact is that even in the 12th and succeeding centuries many persons with Slovak names are mentioned in the documents of Veszprém, Tihány, and other places.

Melich placed the southern Slovans between the Tisa and Danube rivers, because he was particularly influenced by the name of the "Zagya" river (p. 101). Of course, he did not know from what southern Slovanic tongue it might be derived. To a Slovanic philologist, however, it is quite obvious that the name of the river which flows through that particular territory cannot be deduced from any other than the Slovak language. The Magyar name "Zagyva," like the Czech "Sázava," comes from the Slovak "Sadzava," the Magyars using "-gy-" in place of the Slovak "-dz-" (Palugya-Paludza; Privigyie-Prievidza; Pomogy-Pomedzi; etc.). Moór was correct in this regard, adding that, in the meantime, it appeared that Professor Melich had corrected his earlier views on the subject. Moór showed that names of this type could not be ascribed to any Slovanic language other than Slovak.

The city of Miskolc, much in the news during the recent Hungarian revolt, is also of Slovak origin (Miškovec). And there are many such names close to and far from the area above the Matra and the Beech Forest. For example, north of Jäger is the community of Balatony; the latter is as much a Slovak name as is Balaton, as well as: Topolčany, Suchá, Nováky, Trstené, Kľačany, Vyšňová, Vrbové, Hradišťany, Domoslav, Dubičany, Hlohovec, Suchoň, and many others.

Today's Fertő-Szent-Miklós was mentioned in the thirteenth century as "Neweg , Neueg;" but in northeastern Veszprém a group of seven communities is also recalled under the common name of "Nywig, Nywog, Neueg." We have the same proofs from that same time (13th century) for Nevidzany (Tekov County), that is, all these settlements were called by one and the same name: **Nevidza**. These names are especially important in the determination of the tribal adherence of the Slovans beyond the Danube and beneath Mt. Matra. They tell us that these Slovans (Slavs) were the ancestors of the Slovaks.



Moór literally fought against Kniezsa over the name "Pomogy" (*Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1937, p. 278; and 1938, p. 36). A name of this type is also in Železná (Vas) County, near Körmend: it is "Geregye (from the Slovak "Grädza," which today would sound "Hrádza"). Another such important name is "Bogyoszló" (from the Slovak "Budi-slav"); if it were derived from a south Slovanic language, it would have to be written "Bodoszló" in Magyar. We find this appellation in several counties (Bihar Pešť—to the south on the Danube—Šopron, and Železná.

Names from the area of Balaton Lake, even south of it, are proofs that the ancestors of the Slovaks once occupied that territory. They are typical western-Slovanic. One even need not be a philologist to arrive at the fact that they are of Slovanic origin; for example, Kustány (Kostány); Nagy-Szokoly (Sokol); Nyedam puszta, Rosztopan puszta, etc.

Some of the names may appear a bit "mixed" up, but a knowledge of documentary material and the evolution of the Magyar language always help one to find the original Slovanic or, respectively, Slovak form. The counties of Veszprém, Zalán, Komárno (also the transdanubian parét), Železná, Šopron, Mošon, Ráb, and others up to the Dráva river, are swarmed with Slovanic names. Documents of the eleventh century contain a multitude of Slovanic personal names (Budivoj; Kazimír; Vojtech; Dobroň; Vraniš; Miloš; Gnevku (Hnevek); Zlauku (Slavek); Radoan (Radovan); Václav; etc.).

On the Danube, in most ancient times, the boundary between the Slovak and the Bulgarian nations was between Vacov (derived from "Václav") and Pešť.

According to what has been uncovered by archeologists, philologists, and historians, we are quite certain that the territory of the ancient Slovaks extended in the west from beyond the Nežider Lake, through Železná County probably up to Körmend (from the Slovak "kremeň"), below Balaton Lake; of course, we know that north of Balaton Lake there were large Slovak settlements in olden times; between the Danube and Tisa rivers the boundary went below the southern slope of Mt. Matra.



Today there still may be doubt about the origin of several of these cities and villages, but their names tell us clearly that they were founded by Slovaks. According to Anonymous, the Slovaks were there before the 12th century; and it is more than probable that the "Slověne"—Slovaks were there when the Magyars came to Hungary. According to an ethnographic map of 1773, there were not many Slovaks in some places, but a large number in others. A solid Slovak territory extends here deeply to Pešť, and even farther south. Beautiful central Slovak is still spoken in the vicinities of Pešť, Vacov, and other cities and towns.

According to names mentioned in ancient documents, the eastern boundary extended to the Tisa river and most probably went northeast as far as Zemplín. In an ancient Hungaro-Polish chronicle the river Topľa is recalled by its old Slovak name "Cepla" (Teplá). This clearly proves that the Slovaks must have inhabited the area.

From the philological standpoint, the question of the Slovaks in Moravia is altogether clear. The Slovaks there in the 8—10th centuries occupied a greater space to the west and south than they do now. To the south they had fortifications on the river Dyja and reached as far as the Danube.

Philological studies also show that Slovak influence also extended to southern Poland: the dialects used there indicate that probably from the 13th century there was a common development with the Slovak and not the Polish language.

Furthermore, together with archeological studies, they tell us that the Slovaks today occupy only about a third of the territory which was settled by their ancestors before the Magyars came into the Danube area. With the passage of time, Paul J. Šafárik's determination of ancient Slovak frontiers has been confirmed by scientific studies of historians, ethnographers, philologists, and archeologists.

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*Nehaňte ľud môj*, Dr. Jozef Škultéty, 1928.

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## MICKIEWICZ IN SLOVAK POETRY AND TRANSLATIONS

JOSEPH KIRSCHBAUM Ph.D.

The University of California recently published an excellent symposium on the great Polish poet and patriot, Adam Mickiewicz, whose centenary has been commemorated throughout the world since 1955. Altogether 30 scholars and experts in Slavistics, representing over 20 nations and universities, contributed to this remarkable volume, edited by the eminent Polish scholar, professor Wacław Lednicki.

The volume has been published under the impressive title "**Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature**," and the editor actually succeeded in presenting Mickiewicz's influence on World literatures. Slovakia is represented by two contributions and is also mentioned in an article of a Czech scholar, who quite sincerely tried not to make the usual mistake of confusing Slovak and Czech poets and writers.

The main article on Slovak literature in connection with Mickiewicz was written by the known expert in Slavic studies, professor Dimitry Čiževsky from Harvard, who in his scholarly study deals mainly with the poetry of two outstanding Slovak romantics: Ľudovít Štúr and Janko Kráľ. Čiževsky admits "that Mickiewicz's influence on Slovak literature was undoubtedly significant," but he warns at the same time against the "parallels" which are not parallels at all. This remark refers mainly to a Polish expert on Slovak poetry, Władysław Bobek, whose work twenty-five years ago aimed to demonstrate the part which the poetry of Mickiewicz played in the works of — out of the theo-

retical basis and in the poetic practice of Slovak poets — above all, the Slovak romantic poets. In this respect Bobek succeeded according to Číževsky.

The second article on Slovak literature is a note on two modern Slovak translators of Mickiewicz, Hviezdoslav and Žarnov, contributed by this writer.

Since on the Polish side also professor M. Majowski of the University of Montreal published sometime ago an interesting study on Polish-Slovak cultural relations in "Zew młodych," we should not miss this occasion to demonstrate on Mickiewicz's example how extensive and important the cultural ties between Poland and Slovakia already were in the past century.

The impact of Mickiewicz on Slovak literature was so strong that the Slovaks have not only all his works translated into the Slovak language, but we find two or three various translations. Three Slovak generations attempted to transplant the beauty of Mickiewicz's poetry into Slovak literary life. Since the first Mickiewicz's poems appeared, the generation of Ludovít Štúr, (1815-1856) recited and drew enthusiasm for the Slovak national cause from Mickiewicz's works. Slovak poets of the nineteenth century (Ján Botto, Janko Matúška, K. Kuzmány, Peter Bella-Horal etc.) translated Mickiewicz's ballads, the **Ode to the Youth**, his **Forefather's Eve**, **Konrad Wallenrod**, and other verses, though they preferred to read and recite the Polish original, as we shall see further.

The following generation produced an admirer and translator in the person of the great Slovak poet, Pavol O. Hviezdoslav, and contemporary Slovak poetry was enriched by masterful translations of Andrej Žarnov, Matúš Zjara, Rudo Brtán, and Ján Holý.

While we shall speak of Hviezdoslav's and Žarnov's translations extensively, it is worthwhile to mention that even very recently, in the martyred Slovakia, there were translations and adequate commentaries of Mickiewicz's Books of the Polish Nation and Books of the Polish Pilgrimage by a persecuted Catholic priest-poet hidden behind the pseudonym **Matúš Zjara**. A new translation of "Pan

Tadeusz" was prepared by Rudo Brtáň, and professor Ján Holý translated Jastrun's essay on Mickiewicz.

We have, however, to point out that the quantity of Slovak translations from the various Slavic literatures has never adequately reflected either the popularity of the great Slavic writers and poets in Slovakia or Slovak interest in them. From the second half of the nineteenth century, when Slovakia made her contribution to the Pan-Slavic idea by producing its most famous exponents in the persons of Ján Kollár, P. J. Šafárik, and Ľudovít Štúr, the Slovak "intelligentsia" expressed their Pan-Slavic sympathy and tendencies by reading Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, and Yugoslav authors in the original. The geographic situation of Slovakia and the central position of Slovak among the Slavic languages account for this peculiar phenomenon in Slovak cultural life.

Under these circumstances, until recently we have had in Slovak literature a larger number of translations from non-Slavic languages (German, French, English, and Scandinavian) than from the Slavic, and this in spite of the fact that Slovak literature, especially in the nineteenth century, developed under the strong influence of the outstanding works of Russian, Polish, and other Slav authors. Again, being fundamentally national and romantic, Slovak poetry and fiction were marked, like Polish and Russian literature, by an extensive use of folk tradition and regionalism, and Slovakia's greatest poets drew on folklore and legend in the same way and to the same extent as did the other Slavs.

Adam Mickiewicz, who influenced Slovak literature and cultural efforts more than any other Pole, offers an excellent illustration of the situation we have just described. A whole generation of Slovak writers drew enthusiasm, inspiration, and incentive from Mickiewicz's **Ode to Youth**<sup>(1)</sup> and his ballads, as well as from his **Konrad Walenrod**, **Pan Tadeusz**, and the **Crimean Sonnets**. For the Slovak contemporaries of Mickiewicz, namely, the group of Ľudovít Štúr, the **Ode** became "an armory of maxims, slogans, and appeals, which were used as mottoes for their collections of poetry, individual works, and publications on every possible

occasion," and, according to W. Bobek, "not even in Poland has the **Ode** been so enthusiastically received as in Slovakia."<sup>(2)</sup> However, with the exception of the ballads, translations of the **Ode**, as well as of other works of Mickiewicz that enjoyed a wide popularity among the Slovak writers of the nineteenth century, began to appear only in the twentieth century.

Artistically, the best of these translations are without doubt those made by two outstanding Slovak poets, Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav and Andrej Žarnov.

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P. O. Hviezdoslav,<sup>(3)</sup> who "elevated Slovak literature to its highest peak, and gave it a true greatness and depth, and who in his national note comes near to Mickiewicz, in his artistry to the poetry of Vrchlický, and in his strong love for his people and popular art to the works of Shevchenko,"<sup>(4)</sup> translated not only Mickiewicz's **Crimean Sonnets**, but also his **Faris, Sages, Out of My Sight**, and **Girl at the Crossroads** (the last mistakenly ascribed to Mickiewicz; Bobek identifies the author as J. Jezowski), thus completing the series of translations done by P. Bella-Horal, Janko Matúška, Štefan Krčméry, Botto, and others.<sup>(5)</sup>

Although at first glance the translation of Polish poetry into Slovak may seem an easy task, owing to the close relationship between the two languages, this is far from being so. One reason is that, while Slovak verse bases its rhythm on the accent, Polish verse is syllabic. Another is that similar words in both languages are often not semantically equivalent.<sup>(6)</sup> It is a further difficulty to the translator of Mickiewicz that the author is a man of genius, with a style of his own, and a special variety of metaphors and peculiarities of expression.

Hviezdoslav more than anyone else had, however, all the gifts needed, not only to overcome these difficulties, but at the same time to master the poetic forms and apprehend the spiritual greatness of Mickiewicz's poetry. Hviezdoslav was not only "the most important personality among the Slovak poets representing the transition from romanticism to realism"<sup>(7)</sup> and, therefore, suited spiritually to interpret the main representative of Polish ro-

manticism and messianism, whom he resembled by force of his own poetic vision and prophetic sense and by his attachment to the national cause and his oppressed Slovak people; his poetic language, too — rich and varied, weighty, and filled with dialectical expressions and metaphors — was sufficiently plastic and mature to convey the artistic brilliance of Mickiewicz's poetry. Translator of Goethe's **Faust**, Shakespeare's **Hamlet** and **Midsummer Night's Dream**, of Lermontov, Schiller, and Slowacki, as well as of the monumental work of Madách — **The Tragedy of Man**, — and, in his original verse, a master of the most complicated forms, from distich and sestina to ghazel and ritor-nello, Hviezdoslav also possessed full technical equipment for the task of translating the Polish classics.

It is not, therefore, mere courtesy when Professor Bobek writes that Hviezdoslav's translation of the **Crimean Sonnets** is really "masterful" and adds that the Eastern coloring of the language, so characteristic of the **Sonnets**, was not only preserved by Hviezdoslav but sometimes actually enriched through the use, in the translation, of the Eastern terms which Mickiewicz cited in his explanatory notes. And Bobek concludes that "on the whole, the translation of the **Crimean Sonnets** stands on an equal footing with the original work and can be considered as one of Hviezdoslav's best translations," (8) an opinion that is fully shared by the present writer and by many literary critics.

Although Hviezdoslav's translation of **Faris** differs slightly in form from the original, it is nevertheless equally faithful, and artistically thorough. A comparison of texts, which unfortunately is not practicable here, would supply ample proof. In comparison with the earlier translations from Mickiewicz, especially those of Štúr's group, the translations made by Hviezdoslav are not so close to the Polish original either in means of expression or in meter; they are poetical interpretations, done in accordance with the rules of Slovak prosody.

No influence of Mickiewicz's poetry on the original creative work of Hviezdoslav has so far been detected by any literary analyst or critic. W. Bobek notes that theories



have been brought forth to the effect that **Pan Thadeusz** influenced the composition of Hviezdoslav's longer epic poems, but that there is no supporting evidence. He adds, however, that Hviezdoslav's epic poems, such as **The For-ester's Wife**, **Ežo Vlkolinský**, and **Gábor Vlkolinský**, form a counterpart, on Slovak soil, of the Polish epic.<sup>(9)</sup> We may conclude the comparison by stating that there was a strong spiritual affinity between the two poets and that Hviezdoslav, like Mickiewicz, by his own poetry as well as by his translations gave his fellow countrymen a vision of what they might long for and accomplish, and implemented the vision with practical and profound Christian maxims.

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In the turmoil of the Second World War, Andrej Žarnov, <sup>(10)</sup> one of the best modern Slovak poets, prepared an entire book of translations from Mickiewicz. The volume was published "in order to transplant Mickiewicz's works to Slovak soil and thereby strengthen the structure of Slavic brotherhood in the cultural sector," and because "in world literature there are only a few great poets who in the works of their genius accumulate and present so universally, profoundly, and magnificently the history of the efforts, failures, and spiritual achievements of their own people as does Adam Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish and all-Slavic poet."<sup>(11)</sup> The book appeared in 1948, published by the Slovak Catholic cultural institution the "Society of St. Adalbert."

A. Žarnov, who was awarded a silver wreath by the Polish Academy of Literature in recognition of his earlier translations from Polish poetry (published in a volume entitled **U poľských básnikov**), is an outstanding translator of lyrics, epics, and dramas. Of his original works Andrej Mráz, Professor of Slovak Literature at the University of Bratislava, writes: "By its fiery words and resounding verses Žarnov's poetry became an efficacious instrument in the Slovak national struggle; events of major national importance, reminiscences of history and its tragedies, find in him a militant and inflamed interpreter of the national aspirations and will-power of his people. Yet he also arrived, in his effort to find a harmony between the individual and the universe, at a lyrical as well as philosophical

poetry.”(12) Let us add that he in fact became one of the Slovak poets who penetrated and stirred to the depths the spirit of his generation and especially of the young intelligentsia, helped to bring them to a strong awareness of their spiritual and national individuality, and successfully summoned them to the struggle for justice and freedom.

Without exaggeration we can assert that Žarnov has been, in his generation, artistically and spiritually the best prepared to transmit the heritage of Mickiewicz's greatest and most beautiful poems into Slovak literature. And he did it with great artistic skill and brilliance. His volume *Poezia* contains not only the eighteen **Crimean Sonnets**, but also **Konrad Wallenrod**, the **Ode to Youth**, **To a Polish Mother**, **To My Muscovite Friends**, **Sages**, **A Vision**, **The Master of Masters**, **Flight**, and **Out of My Sight**, thus presenting some valuable lyrics along with his patriotic verse tale about his fatherland.

The **Crimean Sonnets** in Žarnov's Slovak translation remain “a wonder” and “some of the most beautiful pages in all European poetry of the century,” since he has preserved to a great degree the “richness of beauty of the poetic expression which always takes us by surprise and makes us marvel at the audacity of thought and the moral courage which produce the special splendor of this collection.”(13) Žarnov's poetic language is, naturally, more modern, his verse and rhythm more vivid, and the whole translation more audacious even than that of Hviezdoslav. Where Hviezdoslav tried to preserve not only the images and metaphors but also the expressions and rhymes, using words from the dialect of his native region, Žarnov found in his own rich poetical invention the metaphors and poetic visions to express Mickiewicz's ideas and colorful images.

The translation of **Konrad Wallenrod** can be considered as standing not far behind the original in many respects. This poem (which was translated for the first time into Slovak in 1907 by Peter Bella-Horal) made a strong impact on the group of Štúr's followers, who recited and imitated especially the **Song of the Wajdoleta**. Žarnov's translation is a poetical and genuine interpretation, equaling in beauty Mickiewicz's own work. Žarnov is certainly no romantic

in the pattern of the last century, but still an enthusiastic patriot who sings in his poetry a hymn to his crucified country, dooming its traitors and fighting for justice, one who has consecrated his life and his heart to his fatherland. More than anyone else among modern Slovak poets he was, therefore, predestined to enrich modern Slovak literature by this Byronic work of great charm and poetic vision, which "of the many and often highly inspired types of Byronism in Polish poetry ranks highest." (14)

Žarnov's versions of the **Ode to Youth** and **To My Muscovite Friends** are to be remembered not only for brilliance of translation (which could be demonstrated only by quotations and comparisons of texts), but also for the purpose which the translator wished to serve. The volume **Poezia** was published after the tragic experiences which the Russian occupation of Slovakia brought to the people of Ján Kollár, P. J. Šafárik, and Ľudovít Štúr, founders of the cultural as well as political Pan-Slavism of the last century. Žarnov, to whom the national cause has always been a question of honor and personal dedication, addressed, in Mickiewicz's mordant verses, the new Muscovite rulers and summoned Slovak youth to the dynamic faith which Mickiewicz, in the **Ode to Youth**, expressed for Poles under very similar circumstances. Žarnov's translations were thus to serve after a century the same aim as Mickiewicz had assigned to his poetry. Through the literary works of Mickiewicz Žarnov wished to teach the Slovaks, as Mickiewicz had the Poles, "to regard as their personal affair the great questions of honor and dedication, truth and falsehood, nobility of ends and legitimacy of means for attaining them." Žarnov attempted to convince his martyred people that "the national cause must become an autochthonous idea, the ultimate moral criterion around which the entire spiritual life of the nation is crystallized." The real function of Žarnov's poetry and translation was, like that of Mickiewicz's, not "to provide artistic enjoyment or to refine aesthetic taste, but primarily to equip his people with the spiritual resources necessary to enable them to survive their enslavement and to fight for their freedom." (15)

The Muscovite rulers in Slovakia grasped his intention and silenced the book. Žarnov, under constant threat of arrest and deportation, and many times in prison, made a dramatic flight from his country and now fights in exile for his ideas and those of Mickiewicz.

(1) See Wladyslaw Bobek, **Mickiewicz w literaturze slowackiej** (Prague, 1931), pp. 9-10.

(2) Ibid.

(3) P. O. Hviezdoslav (1849-1921) is the pseudonym of Pavol Országh. By occupation a lawyer, he published several volumes of lyrics, one of them (**Bloody Sonnets**) translated into English, dramas (**Herodes a Herodias**), epics (**Hajnikova žena**, **Ežo Vlkolinský**, **Gábor Vlkolinský**, **Agar**, **Rachel**, **Kain**), and four volumes of translations from world literature. Altogether his poetry was published in fifteen large volumes.

(4) See W. Bobek, "Dzieje literatury slowackiej w zarysie," in **Słowacja i Słowacy**, edited by W. Semkowicz (Cracow, 1937), pp. 357 ff.

(5) Among recent Slovak translations from Mickiewicz are his **Books of the Polish Nation** and **Books of the Polish Pilgrimage**, translated by Matúš Zjara (Košice, 1947). Jastrun's study of Mickiewicz, translated by Ján Holý, was published in 1950 by Tatran, in Bratislava. Professor R. Brtán has translated **Pan Tadeusz**, and Matúš Zjara has published a penetrating study of Mickiewicz and his relations with Moscow.

(6) Štefan Krčméry, outstanding essayist, translator, and poet, states that "Štúr's group based its poetry on popular songs, Pushkin's and Mickiewicz's works" (**Slovenské Pohl'ady**, Vol. XLVII [1931], p. 132. W. Bobek has published a study on this subject in which he tries to prove that the metrics of Štúr's group is based on the Polish poetry. See **Kultúra**, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 248-256.

(7) See Otto Rádl, in **Handbook of Slavic Studies**, edited by I. Strakhovský (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 496.

(8) See W. Bobek, **Mickiewicz w literaturze slowackiej**, p. 57.

(9) Page 43.

(10) Andrej Žarnov is the pseudonym of František Šubík, former professor at the University of Bratislava, at present in Washington. He was born in 1903 in Slovakia. His main published works are **Stráž pri Morave** (1925), **Brázda cez Úhory** (1929), **Hlas krvi** (1932), **Štít** (1940), and **Mŕtvý** (1941).

(11) Introduction to the volume **Poezia**, pp. 121-133.

(12) Andreas Mráz, **Die Literatur der Slowaken** (Berlin-Prague-Vienna: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1943), pp. 187-188.

(13) See Wacław Lednicki, **Life and Culture of Poland** (New York: Ray Publishers, 1944), p. 176 etc.

(14) See Roman Dyboski, **Poland in World Civilization** (New York, 1950), p. 213.

(15) See J. Nechon's essay on Stefan Zeronski in **Harvard Slavic Studies**, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 323-324.

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## **WE MUST QUIT HELPING RED REGIMES**

**(Address By Hon. William F. Knowland Before Inaugural  
Nationalities Banquet, January 20, 1957)**

It is most fitting that this banquet, held on the eve of the public inaugural ceremonies of the President and Vice President of the United States, should be under the sponsorship of the Nationalities Advisory Committee and the Inaugural Nationalities committee.

Firstly, with the exception of American Indians, in this new world all of us ourselves or our parents, grandparents, or more distant forebears, came from the old worlds of Europe, Asia, or Africa.

While as citizens of the United States our loyalty is to this great republic it is also natural that there remain ties of historic interests, family or racial connections, and religious beliefs, together with our natural humanitarian instincts, that makes what happens in Budapest, Berlin, London, Peiping, Cairo, or any other city large or small more than just newspaper datelines.

Secondly, the nationalities groups throughout our country made notable contributions to the reelection of our great president Dwight D. Eisenhower and our able and effective Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Not only are you entitled to be here to witness the culmination of your individual and collective constructive labors in the last campaign but you have earned the right to a respectful hearing to your recommendations.

There are many great problems confronting our country domestic and foreign. The President in his address on the Middle East resolution, in his state of the Union message, in his inaugural address tomorrow, or in future special messages to the Congress will discuss them.

To me the greatest issue of the day is human freedom. Under either Republican or Democratic administrations our foreign policy should be based upon it. What advances freedom we should support and what retards or endangers it we should oppose.

There are principles that cannot be compromised without fatal effects on the compriser or on the sacrificial victim. Czecho-Slovakia was a casualty of such a deal. Munich should have taught the world that appeasement is not the road to peace but is only surrender on the installment plan.

Communism is an evil thing. It is destructive of religion, freedom, family life, and other human rights that free men honor and hold dear. Dare we forget the admonition in Second Corinthians:

"Do not bear the yoke with unbelievers. For what has justice in common with iniquity? Or what fellowship has light with darkness?"

Kadar, Khrushchev, Gomulka, Chou en Lai are not to be trusted. The policy of international communism has been, is, and will remain the destruction of freedom and national sovereignty. Any notion in Europe, Asia, or the Middle East that ignores this basic fact will do so at its peril.

A propaganda barrage is developing here and abroad to give economic aid to the communist states of Eastern Europe. For what purpose? To lessen the drain on the Soviet Union so it will have more economic resources to use against the nations of the free world or to subvert the uncommitted countries outside the Iron Curtain? To sustain godless local communist chieftains who would not last a month were it not for the support of Soviet bayonets within their borders? To give character and prestige to men whose hands are red with the blood of those patriots whose love of freedom for their countrymen was greater than their love of life? Are we to bolster sagging communist economies whose own workers by strikes, slow downs, or sabotage in the face of death penalties and prison terms have contributed to the weakening of an important segment of the communist regime?



None of these things make sense to me. I shall oppose the taking of a single dollar from the overburdened American taxpayer to build the economic strength of any communist country behind the Soviet Iron Curtain or to give military aid to any communist state anywhere in the world.

If the Soviet Union wants peace there is an honorable proposal that could be made to that Government.

Withdraw all Soviet forces from Poland, Albania, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria and guarantee free elections under United Nations supervision. Let the people decide, free from the farce of Gomulka counterfeit elections such as Poland was insulted with on Sunday, January 20, while Soviet troops still occupy that restless country.

Let the great powers and the United Nations guarantee the neutrality of all of these eastern European states after the withdrawal of all Soviet troops and after the free elections under United Nations auspices have been held.

Both the Soviet Union and the West could then be assured that these free states would be similar to the neutral position which is today existing in Austria, Switzerland, and Sweden. They could not be used as a springboard for invasion against the free world or against the Soviet Union.

The free world has no quarrel with the people of Russia. They were the first victims of Communist aggression. It is not the Russian people but the Soviet Communist regime which has broken all of its international agreements with non-Communist powers and which has been a disturber of the peace of the world and still threatens it.

With such a settlement in Eastern Europe the burdens of armaments could be lifted to a considerable extent from the backs of the people of the free world and the Soviet Union as well. Then the people of Russia who do not have the privileges of the small but relatively well off Communist Party hierarchy would be able to enjoy during this lifetime better housing, more consumer goods and a certain amount of luxuries which are now enjoyed by urban and rural workers in the free world.

But let us not as a great Republic ever compromise

the basic principle of human freedom. Let us never give our moral or legal blessing to the enslavement of millions behind the Iron Curtain who long to be free. Nor should we permit any international organization of which we are a member to compromise us in this regard.

How can any nation ignore the moral issue involved in Soviet destruction of freedom in Hungary and subsequently want sanctions applied in the case of trouble in the Middle East? What organization can survive such a double standard? Either we have a system of law and order or the doctrine of might makes right is recognized. Communism cannot be allowed to place itself above international law or God-given moral law.

Our first Republican President Abraham Lincoln, said: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. \* \* \* The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down to the latest generation. \* \* \* We, yes even we, have the power and bear the responsibility. \* \* \* In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free. \* \* \* We shall nobly save or meanly lose this last best hope on earth."

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## INDEPENDENCE AND THE SLOVAK PAST

Joseph Kirschbaum, LL. D., Ph. D.

The question of the national existence of the Slovak nation, the efforts expended by the Slovaks for national and state independence, are treated in various works of political writers. In their analysis of the problems of Central Europe, writers try to be objective, but their literary efforts demonstrate that they answer the question only partially and usually incorrectly. Not taking into account the use of tendencious sources, it appears that the fault lies particularly in the approach to the problem of Slovak efforts for independence from the downfall of the first state of the Slovaks, Great Moravia. Many political writers identify creations of dynasties with creations of nations, especially in multi-national states, and overlook the universalistic tendencies of Europe in the early centuries of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age.

Any search of the question of the efforts of the Slovaks for independence in the course of the centuries requires that we take into consideration the whole series of actualities, which directly or indirectly created or affected the destinies of the Slovak and had any influence on Slovak political tendencies. We must necessarily take into account especially the following actualities:

1. Slovakia was and still is a component part of the European continent and, therefore, the spiritual and political development in Slovakia can be judged only by comparing it with the over-all European development or evolution. At the same time, of course, we must take into account the fact that the territory of the Slovaks in the past was situated more than it is now on the border of western civilization, and that with this border-position there occurred automatically a definite retardation of the spiritual and political currents which emanated from the centers of European civilization.

2. In judging Slovak political development of the past, it is no less important to be mindful of the fact that the Slovaks, after the downfall of Great Moravia, their first state, got themselves into a supranational and later into a multi-national Hungary and the Habsburg Empire, and that they got into these political creations or formations not as a ruling or co-governing element, or voluntarily, as was the case with the Croats and Czechs, but as inhabitants of a territory that was overcome by arms.

3. We must also bear in mind the special historical, geopolitical, and social conditions prevailing in Central Europe which *via facti* brought the individual and substantially delayed development of the nations living there in the direction of national independence and state independence.

It is only when we bear in mind these three actualities, which determined Slovak life in the past, that we can correctly comprehend and evaluate the political evolution of Slovakia and the Slovaks. And it is understandable because, while the adherence of the Slovaks to western civilization does determine the source and the yardstick for the spiritual and political development of the Slovaks in the past,

the fact of the adherence of the Slovaks to the cultural-political area of Central Europe and to the above-mentioned state formations — Hungary, Austria, and Austria-Hungary — explains why the concept of national and political independence was realized later by the Slovaks than by other European nations.

So that we might avoid confusion and incorrect conclusions, it is further necessary to distinguish between the idea of independence and the concept of statehood, the existence of a state in some nation, because the state in its development passed through stages in which it had nothing in common with the nation as a bearer or carrier of political power. By the concept of independence we understand a free political determination of a nation as an informed subject of political power about its own affairs. In view of the fact that a modern state today has a nation for its substratum and is not the patrimony of a ruler or the joint property of Estates, as it happened to be up to the French Revolution, the distinction between the concept of independence and statehood today in no way appears prominently in current language. But even today it can happen that a nation enjoys independence, as it happens, for example, in the case of a federation..

In analyzing the idea of independence in the Slovak past it is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind the efforts of the Slovaks as a politically informed individuality, to manage their own affairs, to live and develop their own cultural and political life, regarding the question of statehood as a modern form of realizing these efforts.

By inquiring objectively into the Slovak past, even on the basis of only those sources which have thus far been uncovered, we can safely ascertain the fact that Slovakia and the Slovaks, even after the loss of their first state independence in the tenth century, did go through their own development and preserved, even in limited form, the character of a separate territorial and ethnic unit.

The disappearance of the Great Moravian Empire — of which Slovakia indisputably was the territorial nucleus

and its inhabitants were the forefathers of present-day Slovaks to such an extent that we can safely include this first Slovanic (Slavic) state in the history of the Slovaks—did not mean, as unfavorable tendencies tried to persuade the Slovaks, also the disappearance of the individuality of Slovak territory and its inhabitants. From the relatively meagre historical sources, which have thusfar been uncovered and investigated, we know that it took almost two centuries before Slovakia was incorporated organizationally into Hungary. Furthermore it is scientifically ascertained that, up to the fall of Matthew Čák of Trenčín (1321), even in the framework of Hungary, she remained more or less an independent administrative unit, with her own administration and military and financial autonomy. Matthew Čák himself acted as an independent ruler of the Slovak territory. If from that time Slovakia, the land of the Slovaks, was indicated by the label “Partes regi superiores,” later as “Pannonia superior” or “Hungaria superior,” this also means that Slovakia was regarded as a separate administrative unit. In the fifteenth century and during the 150 years of Turkish hegemony in Central Europe this character of the individual administrative unit was strengthened to such an extent that the Czech historian, V. Chaloupecky, who is in no way inclined to the Slovak nation, said that Slovakia was in a certain sense an “independent state”(1).

Of course, it would not be correct, already in this early period, to talk about the Slovak nation in a political sense and about any kind of national political endeavors of the Slovaks. The Medieval Age knew no national individualities in the political sense and, therefore, there was neither a Slovak national, political individuality, which could have been the bearer of the national political efforts of the Slovaks. In Europe this entire era was governed by Christian universalism and the bearer of political power was the ruler and the nobility, and not the “nation.”

A nation, in the political sense, is in Europe, and therefore even in Slovakia, a product of the French Revolution and German romanticism. Even Louis XIV thought and stated that the French nation “résidait entièrement en la

personne du roi" (was incorporated in the person of the king). De Maistre defended the thesis that the nation was made up of the king and the nobility ("la nation comprend le chef et la noblesse"). Up to the nineteenth century the concept of "nation" denoted a "linguistic and ethnic (racial) group and had no political significance; it was only from the nineteenth century that the doctrine began to prevail that such groups had the right to be politically independent and to create states"(2).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau repudiated the idea that the nation is incorporated in the person of the king or in the nobility and identifies and places on an equal basis the "people" and the "nation." It was this identification of the people and the nation which, on the one hand, made Rousseau the founder of modern nationalism and, on the other, became the fundamental principle of the American and French revolutions, which out of the "people" as subjects of the king, and later of the king and the nobility — made the nation the subject of political power — for a time together with the king and the nobility, later more often without the king — in democratic republics.

Up to the French Revolution we can speak about people and nation in a sociological, but not political sense. This important difference between the concept "people" and "nation" is frequently not distinguished; in some cases "nation" (natio) is taken in the political sense, or, as for example in the English language, it acquires a significance identical with the concept of "state."

A far-reaching change in the outlook on "people" and its political rights, brought about by the French Revolution, was carried over into the rest of Europe. From that time on, without exception, we can therefore talk about "nation" in the political sense even with regard to other countries. The French, Italians, Germans, and others, only from the French Revolution are, or began to develop into a nation, the same as the other smaller nations of Europe, and particularly in Central Europe. In the latter, with regard to special historical and social conditions, this evolution was retarded and that not only centripetally, to the crystalizing of national consciousness, but also centrifu-



gally, to the formation of proper national states, namely, toward statehood.

In the analysis of the concept of independence with the Slovaks, its origin and evolution, we must unconditionally issue forth from this European ideological and political stream and, therefore, we must ask whether from the time of identifying people and nation, from the time when other nations, in the ethnic and sociological sense of the word, began to be conscious of their right to participate in political power and to create national states, whether any such endeavors manifested themselves among Slovak people.

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In this regard, what does scientific research tell us about the Slovak past? By what documents can we support the thesis that the Slovaks simultaneously with the rest of the nations of Europe, and especially those of Central Europe, began to feel as a nation and fought for the recognition of their own national individuality, including political participation in power and self-administration?

Scholars who have looked into the matter of national consciousness of the Slovak nation during the past twenty years have brought to light many notable findings. These definitely prove that all theses, scientific and pseudoscientific, which tend to demonstrate that the Slovaks were not nationally conscious are absurd. Recent findings of the University of Bratislava are notable too<sup>(3)</sup>. On the other hand, there are so many proofs for the concept of independence that one must wonder how any one could doubt about it or support the opposite thesis in the twentieth century.

Unbiased research of the Slovak past tells us that in the course of the centuries the Slovaks:

1. were conscious of the continuity with the Great Moravian Empire which they regarded as the first Slovak Kingdom. One of the significant proofs is the introduction to the "Canthus Catholici" (1655), in which the author, Benedict Szölösi, recalls with emphasis, after the Slovaks accepted Christianity, what had happened during the reign of King Svätopluk by the merit of Saints Cyril and Metho-

dus: that his nation excelled in piety and loved to sing religious hymns in its national tongue (4);

2. were conscious of not only their linguistic but also national individuality, about which there is a whole series of written documents especially from the 18th century (Mácsay<sup>(5)</sup>, Timon, Adam F. Kollár, Hadbavný, etc.), in first half, and the followers of Bernolák in the second half of the 18th century), of which noteworthy is particularly the work "Murices — sive Apologia" from J. B. Magin<sup>(6)</sup>, published in 1728, in which the author shows that the Slovaks with their past in no respect were behind other nations of Hungary, that their history was just as great and respectable as that of others and, therefore, historical equality entitled the Slovaks to enjoy the same rights in Hungary as the other nations;

3. just about the same time as other nations of Central Europe, the Slovaks began to replace the Latin literary medium with their own literary Slovak language with the tendency stressing their national individuality and to create their own national literature and culture. This important step in Slovak national life, according to scientific workers of the present Bratislava University, is connected with the Catholic University of Trnava<sup>(7)</sup> from the 17th century (1635) and definitely with the end of the 18th century, because the often-referred to year 1842 is the year of the reform, that is the establishment of Central Slovak as a uniform literary medium and not the beginning of writing in Slovak;

4. at about the same time as the other nations of Central Europe, the Slovaks fought for the recognition of their national rights, including independence, not only with political means (memoranda and demands), but also with weapons.

The fact that the Slovak language replaced Latin and "Biblical" Czech (used only by the Protestants for religious services), and then the fact that the Slovaks undertook political action systematically from 1848 to give expression to their national individuality, these are indisputably the most important circumstances for proving the concept of independence in the Slovak past.

In the light of the idea of the era they mean the passage from "people" to "nation" in the political sense and, if the evolution of the Slovaks to statehood was retarded by special conditions, or if these manifestations for independence did not always have equal intensity, this does not substantially change anything in the matter. In Central Europe up to 1918 there were quite a few nations that did not have their own political state. And objective study leads to doubts whether, even in 1918, the multi-national Habsburg Monarchy was broken up by the will of the nations within it, or rather by foreign intervention. Of course, the question always remains whether it would not have been to the greater benefit of the nations concerned and all of Europe if the nations had been reorganized on a federative basis as national units instead of being more or less forced to become so-called "successor" states or members thereof.

There are many proofs to back the claim that the Slovaks consciously fought for the recognition of national independence, including statehood, particularly from 1848, when the Slovaks resorted to arms and formally declared their independence from Hungary. Both in Slovakia itself, as well as in the United States (8), where political conditions permitted free expression. Louis Štúr said: "So that we might take over the spot in history which belongs to us according to our strength and abilities, we must once and for all time free ourselves from this unbearable foreign thralldom and gain state independence for ourselves." When Štúr made that declaration, he simply formulated the sentiments and thoughts of his contemporaries. In 1918, in the Budapest Parliament, Dr. F. Juriga proclaimed: "We demand the right to organize our own and separate state community and territory which we inhabit." This, too, was a manifestation for the right of self-determination, which Juriga demanded to be applied in regard to the Slovak nation and which, later, Dr. Vojtech Tuka formulated even more clearly.(9).

The fight of the Slovaks for political independence reached its climax in 1939 with the establishment of the independent Slovak Republic, which meant the logical con-

clusion of Slovak political development. The conditions or circumstances under which this happened can have only a subordinate significance, inasmuch as all the states of this and the past century originated in Central and Southeastern Europe only with the help of, if not by the will of, the great powers<sup>(10)</sup>.

(1) V. Chaloupecký: *STARÉ SLOVENSKO*, p. 13.

(2) E. H. Carr said that a nation denoted "un group racial ou linguistique et n'avait pas de signification politique avant le XIX-me siècle, quand commença a prevaloir progressivement cette doctrine que de tels groupes avaient un droit d'être politiquement indépendants et de constituer des Etats" (*Nationalisme et apres*, p. 4).

(3) Even though present professors of the Bratislava University use Marxistic terminology and endeavor to see the Slovak past from the viewpoint of historic materialism, it is significant that in the question of Slovakness they confirm and adopt the conclusions of the scientific researches of "bourgeois nationalists." Worthy of attention in this regard is especially the work of Dr. J. Dekan about the beginnings of Slovak history, who adopts the theses of Fr. Hrušovský and others, and in literary history an interesting book is the one of prof. Andrew Mráz. The latter was extremely unjust to many living Slovak poets and writers (Hronský, Žarnov, Čulen, etc.), but even now when he deals with the Slovak past Mráz is amazingly objective in his views.

(4) Andrew Mráz in his "*Dejiny slovenskej literatúry*" (Bratislava, 1948) wrote that "it is safe to hold the opinion that the aim of *Cantus Catholici* was determined also by the traditional knowledge of the historical continuity of the Slovaks with the events of Great Moravia" (p. 44).

(5) A. Mácsay, in the introduction to his work which was published on 856 pages in 1718, wrote that he was publishing it because many Slovaks were complaining about the dirth of such books, while other nations had such books; among the "other nations" he mentioned the Czechs, Poles and Croatians.

(6) A. A. Baník explained Magin's significance in several works; his most valuable contributions possibly are: "Ján Baltazár Magin a jeho politická, národná i kultúrna obrana Slovákov r. 1728" (Trnava, 1936) and "Novšie údaje na poznanie J. B. Magina, jeho diela i doby" (Trnava, 1937).

(7) A. Mráz highly evaluates the work of the University of Trnava in the field of education and Slovak culture, stating that it was "the support of the Slovak national renaissance" (p. 35).

(8) Konštantín Čulen: "DEJINY AMERICKÝCH SLOVÁKOV"; and his articles in the "JEDNOTA" (Middletown, Pa., Nov. 1946).

(9) Dr. E. Žatko published three volumes regarding the endeavors of Tuka for Slovak independence.

(10) About the origin of national states in Central Europe see: C. A. Macartney, "NATIONAL STATES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES" (London, 1935), also his "HUNGARY AND HER SUCCESSORS" (London, 1937), in which he devotes some 100 pages to Slovakia.

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## **The History of Slovakia:**

By PHILIP A. HROBAK

(Continued from last issue)

### METHODIUS AGAIN IN ROME

In the meantime Pope John VIII effected the liberation of Archbishop Methodius and punished the Bavarian bishops. To put a stop to the wars between Germany and the Great Moravian Empire, the Pope forbade the use of the Slovanic liturgy and ordered Methodius to come to Rome. Methodius learned that the German hierarchy had accused him of preaching heresy. Svätopluk sent his personal messenger (Zemežížeň) along with Archbishop Methodius to Rome, because he wanted to place his country under the protection of the Holy See.

When Methodius reached Rome, he proved to the Pope's satisfaction that the charges placed against him were without foundation. Pope John VIII approved the apostolic work of Methodius and his priests. He gave the Archbishop a letter for Svätopluk which stated that he again permits the use of the Slovanic liturgy in Svätopluk's country and accepted King Svätopluk and his whole nation under the protection of St. Peter. When Archbishop Methodius returned to the land of the Slovaks, he and his priests labored zealously in the vineyard of the Lord to gain all the people of Svätopluk's country for the kingdom of Christ. But this mission, as we shall see, was soon to be hindered by Svätopluk himself.

Svätopluk had accepted Christianity and had begged the Pope to protect the territory of the Slovak people, yet his life was not that of a true Christian. Svätopluk was a

fearless warrior; he used any and all means to extend his power and attain his ends. In his private life he followed some pagan practices. Because Archbishop Methodius reproached Svätopluk for his sinful life, he fell into disfavor with the regent. The regent of Great Moravia hated the Germans, yet he preferred to support the German clergymen, especially Wiching the bishop of Nitra, who conveniently overlooked Svätopluk's shortcomings and incited him against Methodius. The saintly archbishop was hurt deeply by Svätopluk's conduct, but suffered the humiliation silently because he knew that open opposition would only threaten the future of his apostolic work and hasten the downfall of haughty Svätopluk's Great Moravia.

When Archbishop Methodius felt that his life was drawing to a close, he called his priests, magnates and people together and, pointing to the priest Gorazd, said: "He is a free man of your country, well versed in Latin books, and orthodox. May it be the will of God and your love as it is mine." With these words Methodius named Gorazd, the Slovak, as his successor and died in 885.

After Methodius died, Svätopluk was dominated completely by German clergymen. He persecuted Slovak priests and finally chased them out of his realm. But this did not enhance his position with the Germans. King Arnulf was determined to prevent the existence of a large Slovanic state as a neighbor of his empire. Secretly he sought allies against Svätopluk to break him and destroy his kingdom. Arnulf succeeded in gaining the wild Magyars who had come over the Carpathians several years before and had begun to colonize the fertile plains of the Danube and the Tisa. Arnulf attacked Svätopluk's stronghold on several occasions, but in vain. During Svätopluk's lifetime Great Moravia successfully resisted all assaults of the Germans. One of the mightiest rulers of the land of the Slovaks passed on with the last years of his life shrouded in mystery, when Svätopluk died in 894.

One beautiful legend has it that Svätopluk realized at the end of his days that power, glory and military successes cannot satisfy the soul of a man with a burdened conscience. So, he decided to spend the last years of his life



doing penance in a monastery. Svätopluk left his royal palace and went up to Zobor. There in the mountain he divested himself of his royal attire, killed his horse, and buried his sword. Then, dressed as a beggar, he knocked on the gate of the Zobor monastery and begged the monks to let him in. They did. Svätopluk spent the rest of his days in prayer, but nobody knew that he was the mighty ruler of Great Moravia. It was only at his death that Svätopluk revealed to the amazed monks his true identity.

In 1885 — when Slavdom celebrated the millennial memorial of the death of Methodius — the Russian historian Konstantin Grot asked: "What was Slavdom prior to Cyril and Methodius?" and answered: "Scattered over the vast spaces of middle Europe, Russia and the Balkan Peninsula, among foreign and hostile nations, the Slovanic race, although gifted by nature with beautiful spiritual endowments, represented a torn, disjointed mass of different tribes without any consciousness of racial relationship..."

Cyril and Methodius unified the people of Rastislav, and their disciples brought Christian culture and national consciousness to the other Slovanic peoples in a comparatively short time thereafter.

Saints Cyril and Methodius performed their mission, spreading the Gospel of Christ, within the territory settled by the ancient Slovaks. This has been well established by philological analysis of the Cyrilo-Methodius texts, the Cividalian Gospel Book, legends and chronicles, names of people, rivers, mountains, churches, and places, and, furthermore, by scientific study of dialects and "borrowed" or foreign words. Dr. John Stanislav, Slovak historian and philologist, states with certainty that Methodius resided in Nitra and performed his mission in the land of the Slovaks. Dr. Francis Dvorník, Czech historian and philologist, confirmed this, even though indirectly, when he wrote that "Slovanic liturgy in Slovakia outlived the catastrophe of the Great Moravian Empire," and that the territory of present-day Slovakia was "in a definite sense the most cultured part of the Magyar empire" (more correctly: the Hungarian empire). Dvorník also noted that the Slovanic monks, after being expelled from Czech lands, from the monastery of

Sázava, in 1055, found refuge in Slovakia, as well as the historical fact that Slovakia and her ancient Slovanic centers served as "half-way transmitting centers" not only between Croatia, but even Kievian Russia.

As far as the literary efforts of the Slovak Apostles and their immediate disciples are concerned, the document "Skazani" tells us that Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius translated and wrote many other books ("i pročejše knigy"). Dr. Stanislav wrote that "after his arrival in Great Moravia, Constantine translated almost the entire ecclesiastical ritual" and also completed the translation of the Gospel texts of all four evangelists, as well as the Acts of the Apostles and the Psalms.

St. Methodius, according to Stanislav, continued in the work begun by his brother and, after the issuance of the glorious Bull, "*Industriae tuae*," by which the Slovanic liturgy again was approved and permitted, "made a compendium of everything that was translated during the twelve years (869-881) of his independent leadership of the Great Moravian mission. He selected two priest 'rapid-writers' and with them translated — probably dictated to them — the entire text of the Holy Bible — the Old and New Testaments, besides the books of the Maccabees, within eight months."

Methodius also translated, or had translated, the Latin Missal, which is preserved as the so-called Kiev Missal; written in Glagolic letters it is preserved in a copy from the tenth century with elements of the Great Moravian tongue. Stanislav also mentions the translation of the ritual, the breviary and the credo, which, according to the biography of Methodius, Svätopluk was supposed to have prayed in the Slovak translation.

Of the non-liturgical books of the saintly brothers, Stanislav mentions the translation of the Nomocanon, or the Kormčaja book, i.e., the collection of laws and regulations of the Byzantian rulers and Church Fathers, then Cyril's polemic treatise in Greek against the Jews which was translated by Methodius, and the original works "A Preface to the Gospels" and "Writings About the True Faith," both written by Constantine. Among the original mementoes be-

long the so-called Pannonian-Moravian Legends, "The Life of St. Cyril and Methodius," written, according to Stanislav, without a doubt in Great Moravia, also the "Praises of Cyril and Methodius," and "about the end of the ancient Slovak epoch of Slovak culture" — the legend about Naum. One of the "Moravian-Slovak sons," Stanislav claims, also composed the ancient Slovak legend about St. Wenceslaus around the year 935.

Stanislav states quite clearly that this literary activity developed on Slovak territory and that in the "great work along with Cyril and Methodius undoubtedly other sons of the Slovak nation had a part, especially Gorazd. Traces of this are found particularly in many words of these mementoes." And since "these memoirs were written for the religious, i.e., the cultural needs of the Slovak nation, and prompted by it, the predecessors of the Slovaks took part in this work passively and actively, and, therefore, this literary work belongs also to our (Slovak) national treasure."

As for the content and extent of the cultural mission of Cyril and Methodius, Slovak scholars of Slavistics agree with K. J. Grot that in Great Moravia was made not only "the most important attempt at a political unification of the Slovanic peoples" — the Greater Moravian Union — but also that: 1. there "were laid the foundations for a national Church and a national Christian education; 2. there originated the draft and the directive for the future, for the entire subsequent, historic development of Slavdom, its world role and relation to Roman-Germanic Europe, to the West, and to the Asiatic question; 3. the foundation of Church-Slovanic literature and education in the Slovanic South among the Bulgars and Serbs, and in the East among the Russians, and partly also among other western Slavs, was only a continuation of that work which Cyril and Methodius had begun in Great Moravia."

#### THE FALL OF GREAT MORAVIA

The Great Moravian Empire was established after the Slovanic tribes in the Danube region became united to fight a common enemy that threatened their existence —

the aggressive Germans. The regents of the empire were often forced to take up arms to safeguard their independence. The danger of German aggression, however, was never removed. Great Moravia was able to withstand German pressure only as long as she was united and had a strong ruler, a personality like Svätopluk. When the mighty Svätopluk died, the external danger that threatened Great Moravia increased and, at the same time, internal dissention hastened the downfall of the first independent state of central Europe.

Svätopluk's eldest son, Mojmir II, succeeded him as ruler of Great Moravia. A younger son, Svätopluk II, received a grant principality which was subject to Mojmir's rule. Mojmir II was a wise ruler and possessed the fighting traits of his illustrious father. He wanted to secure the independence of his country, but the times were very difficult.

The Slovanic tribes, which the great Svätopluk had conquered by force, anxiously awaited the first opportunity to secede from Great Moravia. Soon after his accession to the throne, Mojmir II was forced to relinquish Pannonia. The Czechs had seceded from the empire already in 895, because they preferred to be vassals of the German king than to be subject to Mojmir's rule. Shortly thereafter, the Serbians and the Vislani fell away, so that the total area of the empire under Mojmir II was reduced to that once ruled over by Rastislav. It was a state inhabited only by the Slovaks who formed the nucleus of Great Moravia.

After the other Slovanic tribes seceded from the empire, the Slovaks remained alone on the historical crossroads of Europe. Mojmir II used all means at his disposal to secure his country against attack from its neighbors. In the meantime, Mojmir's younger brother, Svätopluk II, dissatisfied with his brother's rule, was being prodded by the Germans to revolt. German armies invaded Slovakia three times and pillaged the border lands, but Mojmir II staunchly defended his domain and successfully repulsed the invading Germans and even took over his brother's domain. The Germans gave Svätopluk II a title land in Bavaria.

In 900 A. D. the Germans again invaded Mojmir's territory, this time aided by the Czechs. After a terrific battle Mojmir II was forced to sue for peace, because his country was completely exhausted from constant warfare. After a peace was negotiated with the Germans, Mojmir sought to renew the church organization in the land of the Slovaks. After the expulsion of the disciples of Methodius and the death of Bishop Wiching, the Church was in a state of collapse. Mojmir II sent a special delegation to Rome with his request for aid. Pope John IX heard his plea and appointed an archbishop and two bishops to take over the burdens of the Church in the land of the Slovaks.

Mojmir II worked assiduously and courageously to save his country from impending doom, but the odds were against him. To the danger from the west was added the menace from the east. The fierce Magyars, who from 896 had settled in the valley of the lower Danube and made continual attacks on their neighbors, tore into Slovakia in 902. Mojmir rallied his forces and successfully repulsed the Magyar hordes. But the nomadic Mongols were not to be denied. After every setback, they retreated and prepared for a new attack. The Slovaks defended the independence of their country heroically, but finally were overpowered by the overwhelming forces of their enemies. In 906 Mojmir's state collapsed and the Slovak nation lost its independence.

(Continued)

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### **Kerner's "Czechoslovakia" (Cont'd.)**

## **HISTORY OR PROPAGANDA?**

P. A. HROBAK

"The tragedy of Czecho-Slovakia's fate hinged, of course, not on whether this democracy treated her minorities 'justly' or not, but on the fact that the minorities were used as 'Trojan horses' for the aggressive policies of the neighboring Powers. After all, it is not even debatable that Germany's minorities, and particularly the Jews, have been treated with much less 'justice' than Czecho-Slovakia's minorities. The same statement applies to the fate of the minorities in Hungary and Poland. The Polish treatment of her minorities in

particular appears paradoxical in relation to the demands that Warsaw made on Prague regarding the Polish minority in Teschen" — p. (188).

It is hardly the task of an objective historian to act the role of apologist, but Roucek obviously seemed to forget that. The fact is that Czecho-Slovakia's fate was determined in a very large measure by the way the Masaryk and Beneš regimes treated their minorities, and especially their "equal partners," the Slovaks. The "Czecho-Slovak" treatment of minorities and the Slovaks cannot be justified by the argument that the Germans and Poles treated their minorities less justly or more harshly. The historical fact remains that after twenty years of Czech rule, under Masaryk and Beneš, all neighboring states hated Czecho-Slovakia, and her citizens, the Czechs included, refused to fire a single shot in her defense. And that tells us just about everything: Czecho-Slovakia was not worth fighting for!

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"The only democratic country in a world of fascist and semi-fascist central and eastern European states, Czecho-Slovakia consistently suppressed anti-Jewish manifestations" — (p. 189).

Roucek said it and Kerner published it in his "Czecho-slovakia," but students of history should demand a bill of full particulars of at least some such actual manifestations. And, of course, we might also ask the "experts" on Czecho-Slovakia whether the Masaryk-Beneš "democracy" consistently suppressed anti-Christian and, particularly, anti-Catholic manifestations? Such manifestations evidently did not merit attention of Roucek and other pro-Czech historians.

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After quoting statistics from "official" Czech sources to explain population trends in Czecho-Slovakia, which, naturally, favored the Czechs at the expense of the minorities and the Slovaks, Mr. Roucek concludes his chapter (IX in Kerner's "Czechoslovakia") with this propagandistic extravaganza:

"The **inescapable** conclusion is that the problem of Czecho-Slovakia's minorities was not so serious as the German and Magyar propaganda led others to believe; furthermore, that it could have been solved gradually and peacefully if Prague had been allowed to run its own affairs.... Did Czecho-Slovakia make a mistake in try-



ing to solve her problem of minorities by democratic, rather than by brutal and violent, methods, as her neighbors have done?" — (p 192).

How naive can one get? We know that the Czechs (Prague) ran not only their own affairs, but also the affairs of the Slovaks, Magyars, Poles, Germans and Ruthenians, in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The Masaryk-Beneš regimes were anti-Slovak and anti-minority, but pro-Soviet at the same time. Hence, the problem of the minorities was more serious than pictured by Roucek, since, in the end, the Slovaks and all minorities were not willing to commit national suicide. The policies of Masaryk and Beneš determined the fate of Czecho-Slovakia. By what **"democratic"** methods did the Masaryk-Beneš regimes try to solve the problem of Czecho-Slovakia's minorities? **Confiscation and censorship of the press, repudiation of natural rights and the right of free assembly, economic and political oppression — are these the "democratic" methods alluded to by Roucek?** And what could have been more brutal and violent than the forced, inhumane expulsion of three and a half million Germans and hundreds of thousands of Magyars, and the complete sell-out of the Czech and Slovak nations by Beneš to Stalin?

Chapter X of Kerner's "Czechoslovakia" was contributed by Lucy E. Textor (Vassar College); it is titled "Agriculture and Agrarian Reform." The bibliography given at the end of the chapter is dominated by Czech authors. Scandals arising from the Land Reform act, as set up and executed by the Czechs, particularly by leading Czech politicians, are carefully omitted.

"Czechoslovakia's Economic Development and Achievements" — Chapter XII of the book under consideration — was written by Gerhard Schacher, member of the faculty of Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University.

There was no other country in central Europe which was to such a degree able and willing to modernize and rationalize its entire economic system **by its own means and almost entirely without foreign support,** says Schacher, and "that this was done in Czechoslovakia without aiming at

self-sufficiency was one of the greatest economic achievements in central Europe after the World War" — (p. 240).

Just how Czecho-Slovakia was able to do that, however, is not clearly explained by Mr. Schacher. To him "Czechoslovakia" apparently means "Czech" (**Czech**: goods, labor, trade, imports, exports, manufacturers, businessmen, workers, armament, plants, crown, etc.). The rise of **CZECH** industry was phenomenal, indeed, but the professor somehow forgot to put down for the record what happened to **SLOVAK** industry, which had existed in the land of the Slovaks during the Hungarian State. The tendency here, as elsewhere, is only too obvious.

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Brackett Lewis — A.B., Oberlin College; "engaged in war service with the Y. M. C. A. in Russia and in post-war service in central Russia, Archangel, Odessa, Vladivostok, Constantinople, and in Riga, Latvia, 1917-1928; director of the Y. M. C. A. of Czechoslovakia and secretary of the American Institute in Prague, 1928-1938" — wrote Chapter XIII entitled "Social Reform and Social Legislation." He proves, even though I doubt he did it consciously, that Czecho-Slovakia was a socialistic state from the start. According to Lewis "a **democratic outlook**, which has been the characteristic of the **Czechs** since 1848, seemed to pervade all classes, and found expression in literature, education, and the professions, as well as in political life" (p. 253). While in Prague (1928-1938), Mr. Lewis was supposed to have made "special" studies of social and labor legislation and of the political system of the Republic, which resulted in his writing the book "Facts About Democracy in Czechoslovakia" (Prague, 1938). The studies must have been "special," indeed, since Mr. Lewis apparently remained quite ignorant about the Slovaks and their country; his "facts" are for the most part **Czech** propaganda and not objective history.

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Chapter XIV — "Humanitarian Progress" — is the brain-child of Herbert Adolphus Miller (vd. Chapter V), according to whom:

"The seeds that produced the social program of Czechoslovakia lie deep in history. The **moral integrity** of Hus and the **democratic**

educational theories of Comenius (Komenský) were combined with many other forces through the ages to prepare the people for what they accomplished after 1918. **The Declaration of Independence, written by Masaryk, not only embodied his own philosophy but also reflected the past and foreshadowed a future of which his countrymen approved** — (p. 271).

But the fact is that "the seeds that produced the social program of Czechoslovakia" do not lie deep in SLOVAK history; the social program was strictly according to Masaryk and Beneš and their followers, who tried even to "remake" Czech history. The "moral integrity" of Hus and the democratic educational theories" of Comenius, together with "many other forces," may have prepared T. G. Masaryk, Edward Beneš, and other Czech socialists for what they accomplished after 1918, and especially after 1945. We know what happened. Genuine Slovak patriots, however, preferred to repudiate these "progressive" forces and were content to remain the nation of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

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"**The Declaration of Independence,**" according to Miller in his Chapter on "Humanitarian Progress," was written by Masaryk, but what did this same Herbert Adolphus Miller say about this Declaration in a previous Chapter of the same book (pp. 83-86)? For the edification of present and future historians, and in the interest of historical truth, I believe a reproduction is in order. Mr. Miller said:

"According to William E. Dodd" (**Woodrow Wilson and His Work**, p. 278), "on July 4, 1918, a mass meeting of the Czechoslovaks in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, issued a formal Declaration of Independence. President Wilson lent his support to this movement and finally announced American recognition of Czechoslovakia on September 2, 1918.' Mr. Dodd confused the frequent claims for independence by an unauthorized group with the official Declaration made by Masaryk, which was dated October 18, 1918. There is, however, a widespread and erroneous belief that Masaryk proclaimed it from Independence Hall.

"The facts are as follows. Early in October, through the Swedish Minister, President Wilson had received a communication from Emperor Charles of Austria, proposing a reorganization of the empire. Wilson, as has been stated earlier, had told Masaryk that no decisions would be arrived at about Austria-Hungary without consult-

ing him. **Wilson knew at this time that a Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence was being prepared by Professor Masaryk.**

"About four o'clock on the afternoon of October 16, Mr. Císar, Professor Masaryk's secretary, came to the room of the present writer (Herbert Adolphus Miller) in the Powhatan Hotel and, handing him an envelope, said: 'This is the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence. The professor wants you to put it into good English.' **On reading it over, the present writer decided that its style would be quite without appeal to the American public which it, in part, sought to influence, and that it needed complete revision.** Accordingly, **through chance assistance,** he gathered together seven men, including two lawyers and Mr. Císar, and set to work.

"**Great care was taken to keep all the meaning of the original** and at the same time to give a vigor of statement that would appeal to Americans. Every word and every sentence was weighed. **The original typewritten copy was cut into more than a hundred pieces and pasted together in different order and then revised again and again.** The group worked from seven-thirty in the evening until one-thirty in the morning of October 17, 1918.

"Later in the forenoon, with Mr. Calfee, a Cleveland lawyer who had been present the previous evening, the present writer went to Professor Masaryk's residence, where again a detailed study was made of form and content, modifications being made **wherever the meaning had been changed in the work of the night before.** The rest of the day was spent in working on the text and about two o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth the Declaration was cabled to Dr. Beneš in Paris.

"In the forenoon of October 18, the present writer had a number of copies multigraphed and a special typewritten copy made for President Wilson. **These are the only ORIGINAL copies of the Declaration that ever existed; even the copy that was given to the multigrapher has been lost.** The question of when the Declaration should be published, whether in the morning or in the evening papers, was carefully weighed and it was finally decided to have it published in the morning papers, October 19. It was deliberately held until 4:00 P. M. of the eighteenth, for two reasons: **that gave time enough for the Declaration to be cabled from Paris, where it was technically issued on October 18, and made its release too late for the evening papers.**

"In the meantime, President Wilson had been preparing his reply to Emperor Charles. Beneš had feared some yielding, but, after receiving the Declaration from Masaryk, Wilson informed Beneš in a letter that he was greatly touched by the proclamation and that Masaryk would be satisfied with the reply that was being sent to Austria-Hungary....

(Continued)

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